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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

Edited by H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

**GUSTAV GRUENBAUM** 

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# Modern Language Notes

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## THE BANCROFT MANUSCRIPTS OF ROSSETTI'S SONNETS

A considerable body of variants of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's sonnets exists both in manuscript and in the printed versions from 1850 to 1881. Such variants are fascinating in the case of any poet, giving us, as they do, insight into his technique and the temper of his aesthetic feeling and, in the fullest cases, into his more comprehensive and subtler imaginative processes. This is peculiarly true of a poet of such intensely focused and subjective meaning as Rossetti. For this reason I present here variants of fifteen sonnets in the manuscript collection of Mrs. Samuel Bancroft, of Wilmington, Delaware. The collection contains also two hitherto unpublished sonnets which I give here. I wish to thank Mrs. Bancroft for her very generous permission to use them as well as the other manuscripts.

Rossetti's earlier sonnets show, so far as our evidence goes, more change than the later: more hesitation in the embodiment in figure and word of the first concept, and more enlargement and shift of that first concept when the poet later reconsidered them. The Bancroft version of the sonnet on Keats, however, as compared with the form printed in 1881, shows much reworking. In general the changes are of two types, the first of which illuminates Rossetti's aesthetics and technique, the second the habit of his imagination and the temper of his thought.

There are numerous changes of a word or two, to secure exactness, as for example, in the first line of Sonnet XLI, and also in a whole sentence or in the shaping of an image, to secure greater lucidity, as in the same sonnet. The changes, however, are often made not for meaning but for aesthetic satisfaction, as in Sonnet LXXX, and for suggestiveness. These variations underline the

impression derived from the finished sonnets, of Rossetti's delight in luscious and richly colored effects, and at the same time in those melting into shadows crowded with dim intimation.

Of even greater interest are the changes evidently wrought under the deepest impulses of Rossetti's imagination. We have seen how his taste turned to the luscious and richly wrought—a counterpart of the amazingly rich colors poured into the early watercolors. So in reshaping the thought or concept of the sonnets, the poet is apt to crowd in more esoteric and symbolic meaning, to generalize the meaning and to mysticize his interpretation of it. In none of the following variants is this shown so fully as in *The Monochord* or *For a Venetian Pastoral*; yet sonnets XLI, XLIII, and *Keats* are interesting examples.

But the reader will feel these points more fully for himself in the variants which follow.<sup>1</sup>

From The House of Life.

Sonnet XXVIII.

Soul-light] Lovelight:

with

9. with the sun] in the sun:

Sonnet XXIX.

Glorying I gaze

3. Glorying I gaze] To all thou art

To thee thy

4. To thee thy tribute] Its [illegible] tribute

5. assess] express assess

11. will] [illegible]

will

Sonnet XXXI.

Her Gifts] My Lady's Gifts.

11. Love's] his: Love's

Sonnet XXXIII.

with

3. with] thy

Sonnet XXXV,

The Lamp's Shrine] The Love-Lamp,

Sonnet XLI,

like

fain

as moonclouds swift to

1. The

heights where the clouds flee

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Italics have been used to indicate words crossed out. The new reading is given above or below the cancelled one.—EDS.

2. Like The winds.

circumfluence 48

3. The Like multiform malifluence

As

4. . . tie. The like terrors

5. Of fire dumb tongued etc.

6-8. A first version so crisscrossed as to be illegible, but of which the very first draft reads:

> Are as man's mirror dimmed with passing breath Art [?] shows [illegible] his face the wings of death Shadows [illegible] shoals that edge eternity.

This is crossed through and after it is written:

eyes So to our hearts, dimmed with our breath Teems ever more with images of death Shadows and shoals that edge eternity.

10. . . . or flight

or

to brood

14. whose guest is Love?

Underneath the sonnet evidently as a tentative conclusion is written:

As are the feet of Love.

#### Sonnet XLIII.

Even now the 1. Kiss once again. Full many a withered Full many a

at last

5. Yet lo! this hour a bird, Springs

6. byway] byeway.

7. Those years] those year/s

8. Kiss once again, my love; for we are here

of in

10. of] in of

sunshine

12. sole sunshine] sole love sun

but discern where mid dark night we grope

13. Or only, through some night of which we grope where deep in night we grope through night's unfeatured scope

Sonnet LIX. [This version is typewritten.]

1. to his singer held a glistening leaf] held to me a glistening laurel leaf.

grasses 7. grasses] grapes

Sonnet LXIII.

Inclusiveness] Questions For Answer Are not their lives and thy life

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- 3. And every life among them in likewise Each
- 4. Is
- 5-7. Say, hast thou bent o'er thy son's sleep to brood How his face may watch thine where cold it lies? Or pondered, when thy mother kissed thine eyes.
  - 8. his] thy
- 13-14. As in the printed version; but at the bottom of the MS. is written evidently as a tentative new conclusion:

And may be burned on lidless eyes in Hell The one thing seen where all things are in vain.

#### Sonnet LXXX.

- thought that is at length full grown] thought that knows its is at length full grown.
- sun-smit all all gray:] sun-smit all distant paths, so grey
- impelled impelled availed

#### Sonnet LXXXI.

Memorial Thresholds] Stations, The Gate of Memory
Memory's Threshold

unconjectured

- 1. unrevealed] unimagined
  - frost bound, fire-girt scenes of
- 4. like the [illegible] long ago
- 10. Power] power

Even

- 12. With one lost figure filled etc.
- 13-14. As in the printed version; but at the bottom of the MS. is written evidently as a tentative new version of line 13,

some wind

Or shall the winds whirl round forever more Or let the vain winds whirl for evermore.

#### Sonnet LXXXVIII.

14. them or thee] thee or me

#### Sonnet XCVI.

- 1. with shadow etc.] in shadow of pain or dread.
- 2. perchance hath] needs must have
- 7. Frail fugitive] Deciduous

[At bottom of Ms.] pall spanned do: wreath crowned

From "Five English Poets."

## IV. John Keats.

London

- 1. London] city
- 2. strange road] the lane

hospital

3. That winds Between the lazar beds of [illegible]ning pain

4. That brink of Castaly and Latmos' steep

deeper and more deep feet

- Such were his paths; till last his steps sank deep He trod the
- 6. In the dull sands of Lethe; and his brain
- 7. spurned] scorned
- 8. Drowsed where the shadow of dead Rome wraps his sleep.
- 9. whose reverberant] who with resonant
- 10. And heart strung lyre awoke] tabret and timbrel woke
- 12-14. To us thou leavest their fragrance and a name
  Not writ but spoken in water, while thy fame
  Echoes along time's flood forever more
- V. Shelley.

who hold'st

10. to whom] to whom

the through thy brief

- 12. reigned] was; through thy brief] o'er steeps of
  Past doubt
- 13. Past doubt] (Thank God!)
- 14. And in Truth's bright] and in that thy

## Raleigh's Celt in the Tower.

First version.

- 1. Here writ] writ here
- 3. paces] cubits
- 6. time] while

Second version.

albeit

2. albeit his world] but [illegible] world

paces

3. paces] oubits

o'er

7. o'er] to strange

country's high

8. his country's high] his [illegible] free

#### HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED SONNETS.

I.

O thou whose name being alone, aloud

I utter oft, and though thou art not there

Perceive thy pictured presence fill the air

O art thou from thy Heaven-house towards me bow'd

Or

[illegible] vainly now poor wrech deny

Who in thy glance would not accept the shroud

yearn to most bitter

And gladly yield the whole of life's poor wane

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Only to listen to thy voice again?

Love should unto Death [illegible] plumed and proud.

[?] Alas

A few from

With many thoughts of many hours reserved

in this chamber where ere

Stand here alone, aye, one that erst was two

The glass stands empty of all things it knew

hath not memory [?] here a power appeared

Yet [illegible] hath sweet memory here her

As balmy as the breath of her you loved

When deep between her breasts it came to you.

Variants from another incomplete version, lines 3-6, 8-9, 12.

- 3. Around thy pictured presence-[illegible] air
- 4. Lit as with star breath, art thou towards me bow'd
- 5. Who wd not for one bride pulse seek the shroud
- 6. Or give the year's eclipse most bitter wane.
- 8. To see the loved one as she was again?
- 9. And death with one more life go plumed and proud.
- 12. Here in our chamber

#### II.

#### Filli Filia

Upon a sun-scorched road when noon was deep
I passed a little consecrated shrine
Where among simple pictures ranged in line
The Blessed Mary held her son asleep.
To kneel her [here?], shepherd-children leave their sheep
When silence broods at heart of the sunshine,
And again kneel here in the day's decline,
And here when their life ails them come to weep.

Night being full, I passed on this same road By the same shrine. Within a lamp was lit, Which through the depth of utter darkness glow'd. Thus, after heat of life, when doubts arise Dire-hurtling, faith's pure lamp must beam on it, How oft unlit, alas! how oft that dies!

RUTH WALLERSTEIN.

The University of Wisconsin.

### DID KEATS FINISH HYPERION?

Mr. John Middleton Murry <sup>1</sup> in attempting to prove that Keats's *Hyperion*, A Fragment is not a fragment but a finished poem, argues as follows:

"The second source of the legend [that the poem is a fragment] is that the poem was entitled 'Hyperion: a Fragment' and ends abruptly:

As a matter of fact we know from the manuscript that the poem ended perfectly with the line:

Apollo shrieked: and lo! he was a god.

The first Hyperion was a 'fragment,' but it was a finished fragment. Keats did not intend it to be continued. Nevertheless, since its fragmentary character is an essential part of its conception, and since by its own nature it could not be more complete than it was, Keats very rightly emphasized its fragmentary character to the outward eye by ending it abruptly and vaguely with a chain of stars."

Mr. Murry is, as I think can be shown, altogether wrong. In the first place, he assumes that the revised lines with which the poem closes in the MS. and which form the broken end of the poem in all editions from 1820 on were put there by Keats merely to trick the public into believing that a poem he really considered finished was a fragment. This assumption does not fit the case. The Hyperion MS.<sup>2</sup> consists of twenty-seven tall folio sheets, written in Keats's own hand, on one side only. Many words and lines are cancelled. In other words the MS. shows so many instances of revision that it is impossible to believe that the changed lines at the end were revised merely to create the illusion of a fragment. These changes, as in the case of all the others, were made to please the taste of the poet.

In the second place Mr. Murry is not accurate in his reading of what he calls the original final line. He says, "... the poem ended perfectly with the line:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Keats and Shakespeare (Oxford, 1925), p. 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>I am indebted to Prof. G. W. Sherburn of the University of Chicago for examining for me Keats's own MS. now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 37000).

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Apollo shrieked-and lo! he was a god."

As a matter of fact the MS. ends as follows: 3

Phoebus shreiked-and lo he was the God.! from all his limbs Apollo And-god-like Celestial

It would seem to be clear that Keats first wrote:

Phoebus shreiked-and lo he was the God.! And god like

Mr. Murry's statement is wrong on "Phoebus," on the spelling of "shreiked," on the "the" before "God," on the exclamation point, and-most important of all-on the fragmentary half-line "And god like." But apparently this wording did not please the poet and so he changed it to the one with which we are familiar in all printed texts (with the spelling and punctuation corrected):

> Apollo shreiked—and lo! from all his limbs Celestial

Such re-writing is clear indication that the poet had not at all finished the poem, but was trying desperately to go on with itand could not. In view of this criticism, I think there can be no truth in Mr. Murry's statement (p. 82), "These facts dispose completely of the legend that the first Hyperion was unfinished."

It is just possible that some time later the poet did complete the last line, for in the Woodhouse transcript of Hyperion 4 there is still another ending to the poem in which the last line, filled in with pencil, reads:

Clestial glory brake dawn'd: he was a god! 5

But this is an entirely different MS., one which Woodhouse, according to Forman, copied from Keats's MS. and on which he indicated in pencil "subsequent omissions and alterations." 6 Since the pencilled words, "glory brake dawn'd: he was a god!" do not appear

<sup>\*</sup> Italics represent words crossed out.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See H. Buxton Forman, Poetry and Prose of John Keats (London, 1890), p. 19 and J. M. Murry, Keats and Shakespeare, p. 230.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Murry, p. 230, does not include the cancelled "brake."

<sup>6</sup> Forman, op. cit., p. 17.

in the Keats MS., there is no real evidence that Keats ever conceived them. But even if we should grant that they are by Keats and were given to Woodhouse to add to his copy of the poem, they do not prove that *Hyperion* as a whole was finished. They are, at best, merely the completion of the fragmentary line suggested to a friend. They in no way bestow completion on the poet's own unfinished MS.

But Mr. Murry's argument is not concluded. He goes on to say, "In July, however, Keats took up the poem again. He began that process which he described in his letter to Bailey of 15th August 1819: 'I have been rewriting parts of my Hyperion.' This rewriting consisted, as the phrase itself would suggest, not in a continuation of, nor an attempt to continue, the first Hyperion, but in the amplification of the already finished poem." Now while I have not seen the MS. of this letter, I have consulted a number of editions of the letters and find that every one reads, "I have been writing [not rewriting] parts of my Hyperion." Moreover, Mr. Murry, himself, in the appendix to his book quotes the letter again on page 242 as "writing" and refers to it again on page 243 as "writing" and not "rewriting." I am not at the moment concerned with whether the reference in the letter to Bailey of August 15, 1819, is to Hyperion, A Fragment or to Hyperion: A Vision. My immediate interest is in showing that Mr. Murry has in no way proved that the first Hyperion is a finished poem.

JOHN HAWLEY ROBERTS.

Williams College.

## NOTES ON PROFESSOR GARROD'S KEATS

In Professor Garrod's acute and stimulating study of Keats the suggestion is made that the poet's "great Ode" stanza pattern was first developed in the spring of 1819, out of the sonnet.¹ Calling attention to Keats's expressed dissatisfaction with the "pouncing rhymes" of the Petrarchan octave: abbaabba, with the "too elegiac" quality of the Shakespearian sonnet, and with the Shakespearian final couplet, Professor Garrod maintains that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Keats and Shakespeare, p. 82. The italics are mine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> H. W. Garrod, Keats, Oxford, 1926; pp. 83 ff.

new Ode stanza was concocted out of a Shakespearian quatrain, abab, plus a Petrarchan sestet, cdecde or cdedce. Such a synthetic stanza would in fact seem to contain two of the distinguishing features of the sonnet, and at the same time to eliminate the three distasteful elements.

For certain reasons, however, it seems to me unlikely that Keats's magnificent Ode stanza is in any sense a modification of the sonnet. In the first place, the poet's own specific attempt to dispense with the objectionable features of the sonnet is found in the experimental lines beginning "If by dull rhymes", of which the rime-scheme, abc abd cab cae de, is utterly unlike that of any of the great Odes. Then too, the first of the great Odes, the Ode to Psyche, written at the same time as the experimental lines which I have just mentioned, can hardly be described as an attempt to avoid the "too elegiac" quality of the Shakespearian sonnet, for it is full of elegiac quatrains.

More important than these considerations are two other factors which Professor Garrod seems to have overlooked. In the first place, the six great Odes,<sup>3</sup> in their subjects, in their method of treatment, in their mood, represent a complete departure from the sonnets. In about eight only of Keats's sixty-five sonnets is the substance at all comparable to that of the great Odes, and in half of these <sup>4</sup> the strict pattern is not followed. In general when Keats wishes to dwell expansively, meditatively, lyrically upon an abstract idea, he eschews the sonnet entirely and turns to some form of Ode, as he admittedly did in Fancy. This poem, written in December, 1818, months before the sonnet experiments and the composition of the Ode to Psyche, Keats himself calls "a sort of rondeau which I think I shall become partial to—because you have one idea amplified with greater ease and more delight and freedom than in the sonnet." <sup>5</sup>

There is another bit of evidence even more damaging to Professor

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Complete Works of John Keats, ed. H. Buxton Forman, Glasgow, 1900-01; v, 58 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Ode to Psyche, Ode on a Grecian Urn, Ode on Melancholy, Ode to a Nightingale, Ode on Indolence, To Autumn.

<sup>\*</sup>E. g. On Peace, "O thou whose face," To Sleep, "How fever'd is the man."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Complete Works of Keats, IV, 207.

Garrod's contention that the great Ode pattern was developed out of the sonnet, as a result of the experiments of early May, 1819. This evidence is found in the rime-scheme of Keats's On a Lock of Milton's Hair, lines to which Keats himself "would have been . . . content to give the title Ode", thinks Professor Garrod (p. 76). Although these lines vary in length, two of the stanzas have a rime-pattern almost the same as that which we find in the great Odes: abab ccdeed in the first stanza, and abab cddcee in the last. These stanzas were written in January, 1818, a year and a half before those sonnet experiments which, according to Professor Garrod's theory, led to the development of a new Ode stanza. Moreover, their rime-patterns had been used in Ode stanzas in English poetry long before Keats's day.

My conclusion, therefore, is that the stanza of the great Odes is not a concoction made in the spring of 1819 out of the disjecta membra of the sonnet. The sonnet was rejected almost completely, not only because its pattern was in part distasteful, but also because it was not a fit vehicle for the new class of subjects with which the poet was preoccupied. To express these he turned to the Ode, using as a stanza pattern an adaptation of the older Ode stanza of his predecessors and of his own On a Lock of Milton's Hair, with a slight rearrangement of rimes, and an increased proportion of pentameter lines.

A careful examination of Professor Garrod's Keats reveals a number of errors which have crept into the text. Many of these are in themselves trivial; some, however, seriously affect Professor Garrod's evidence; and others, his methods of treatment.

It is in his attempts to establish the chronology of Keats's sonnets that the author's logical methods are most questionable. Professor Garrod assumes that all sonnets of similar rime-scheme are likely

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> For abab codeed, see John Langhorne's Ode to the River Eden in G. Pearch's Collection of Poems (1770), IV, 166; also Mark Akenside, Odes on Several Subjects, Book I, Ode II; or Christopher Smart's Odes III, X, and XVI in Chalmers's English Poets, XVI; 17, 21, 23; or Gray's Odes On the Spring and On . . . Eton College. For abab codece, see the Ode to a Singing Bird by a "Mr. Richardson, of Queen's College, Oxon." in Pearch, IV, 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>This conclusion, and several of my comments in this article, were first suggested in my unpublished Harvard dissertation, *The Style of Keats's Spenserian Stanzas, Sonnets, and Odes,* 1927.

to have been composed at about the same time (p. 144). But the unsoundness of this principle is amply demonstrated by the sole instance in which the dates of all the sonnets having the same rime-scheme are definitely established by external evidence. We know that of the three Petrarchan sonnets with sestet riming *cdcdee* the first, sonnet 1,8 is dated in George Keats's own transcript "August, 1816"; the second, sonnet ix, was written on January 22, 1818; to and the third and last, "Of late two dainties," on July 17, 1818. To Obviously we cannot assume nearness in chronology from identity of rime-scheme. But Professor Garrod does so, even sacrificing external evidence if necessary, as in vi, which he assigns to April, 1817 (p. 144), in order to place it next to the similarly rimed vii, despite Woodhouse's MS. note "March 16, 1816."

An even more startling treatment of chronology is seen in the grouping of the sonnets having Petrarchan two-rime sestets. All but four of these have the sestet rimes arranged cdcdcd. Professor Garrod settles the chronology of three out of the four exceptions very simply (pp. 142 f.). He assigns 7 to November, 1815, though to do so involves the supreme sacrifice of following Miss Lowell. "But," he says in self-defense, "I do not know what the authority for her statement is." Had he consulted the eighty-third page of her first volume he might have found ample reasons at least in support of her dating. The next exception, On Peace, Professor Garrod manhandles by arbitrarily altering the title to On the Peace and then associating this sonnet with "the second Peace of Paris (Nov. 1815)," in defiance of all other Keats chronologists. The third exception, Written in Disgust of Vulgar Superstition,

<sup>\*</sup>For convenience' sake I shall indicate sonnets by the same method used by Professor Garrod: arabic numerals for those composing the section "Sonnets" in the 1817 volume; roman numerals for those posthumously printed sonnets collected in one section in Professor de Sélincourt's edition, 1905; and titles or opening phrases for the remainder.

<sup>\*</sup> Amy Lowell, John Keats, 1925; 1, 158.

<sup>10</sup> Complete Works of Keats, IV, 65.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., IV, 140.

<sup>18</sup> The markedly juvenile style of this sonnet suggests that it was composed early. Its general tenor suits well with the establishment of peaceful conditions after the fall of Paris, March 31, 1814, or the battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1815. Miss Lowell, de Sélincourt, and Colvin agree in assigning the sonnet to one or the other of these periods. There is no evidence or authority for associating it with any specific treaty of peace.

was dated by Tom Keats himself "Sunday evening, Dec. 24, 1816." Now December 24 was not a Sunday in 1816, so Professor Garrod solves the problem by emending not the week day, or the month day, or the month, but the year, to read "1815." "Thus," he concludes, "in the sonnets with two-rhyme sestets, the only variations which there are from the cdcdcd pattern fall within a few weeks of one another." But the climax is capped when we discover that he has completely overlooked a fourth variation from the cdcdcd pattern, sonnet 4, which he has elsewhere (following Woodhouse) assigned to March, 1816, without noticing that its sestet rimes cddcdc and hence completely demolishes his elaborately wrought conclusion regarding the variations from the cdcdcd pattern.

Not only are these methods of dating open to criticism, but in several instances Professor Garrod's conclusions seem to disregard part of the relevant evidence. He says of the Fragment of an Ode to Maia, Written on May Day, 1818, that "this is the earliest poem of Keats of which we can say certainly that he himself called it an Ode" (p. 77). As a matter of fact the Lines on the Mermaid Tavern contained in Keats's letter to Reynolds, February 3, 1818, are specifically entitled "Ode" in the British Museum holograph.<sup>13</sup>

Then Professor Garrod suggests that the Ode to Fanny represents Lord Houghton's maladroitness in combining two unrelated fragments left by Keats; "the first stanza seems, both in theme and in metre, to be wholly unconnected with what follows. Its rhymeschemes and its line-lengths are quite different from those of the other stanzas" (p. 82). I have never been able to detect any real break in the theme; the first stanza provides an appropriate introduction for what follows, and the emotional tone remains the same throughout the poem. As for the changes in form, they are not important; each of the stanzas in the Ode to Fanny has the same number of lines; and although rime-schemes and line-lengths vary, such variations are common in Keats's Odes: only one of his stanzaic Odes follows the same rime-scheme throughout, and only one Ode out of the first thirteen has the same rhythmical pattern in each of its stanzas.

<sup>18</sup> Complete Works of Keats, II, 115, n.

Again, in speaking of Coleridge's Nightingale, Professor Garrod states categorically that "it was from that poem that he [Keats] took the queer word 'leafits' (for leaflets), which no one before him, save Coleridge in that poem, had ever used in English" (p. 125). The New English Dictionary, however, cites four other examples of the use of "leafits" in the third of a century preceding Keats's use (in Isabella); and Miss Lowell (1, 623 f.) mentions some of these, as well as Coleridge's use.

The rime-scheme of the octave in the sonnet On Peace Professor Garrod decribes as abab bcbc, on the assumption that "isle" and "smile" in the first quatrain provide a "Cockney" rime with "hail" and "fail" in the second (pp. 142, 146). But I have not been able to find any example of this very low Cockney rime anywhere in Keats's work, nor does he use the octave abab bcbc anywhere in his sonnets; so it seems more proper to describe the octave of On Peace as riming like a Shakespearian octave, abab cdcd.

There are not only these questionable statements regarding form, in Professor Garrod's Keats, but also one or two dubious suggestions as to the poet's meaning. In an attempt to identify the goddess Psyche with the moth Professor Garrod offers the following explanation:

There shall be a 'bright torch' burning for her, and the casement shall be open to let her in at night. I do not find that any commentator has seized the significance of this symbolism. The open window and the lighted torch—they are to admit and attract the timorous moth-goddess, who symbolizes melancholic love.

For this is the deity which these inspired eyes have created. It is only when we come to the last lines with their

bright torch, and a casement ope at night To let the warm love in

that we realize that Keats has in fact identified the Psyche who is the soul (love's soul) with the Psyche which means moth (pp. 98-9).

There are a number of reasons for rejecting this interpretation of the close of the Ode to Psyche. From the time of The Golden Ass to Mrs. Henry Tighe the Psyche story has always, as far as I know, dealt with a maiden Psyche who slept in a palace, to whom the god Cupid came, silently and by night, first to fall himself a victim to her charms, and later as a lover and husband.

The opened window and the flaming torch have served since time immemorial as a lure and a signal for the lover that walketh in darkness. Moreover Keats is promising specifically to build for Psyche a fane, a rosy sanctuary, in which he will provide for her

. . all soft delight
 That shadowy thought can win,
 A bright torch, and a casement ope at night,
 To let the warm Love in.

The poet capitalizes this word "Love" in the 1820 volume, as well as in the letter containing the Ode, though Professor Garrod fails to do so in his quotation. Can there be any doubt that "the warm Love" is Cupid himself? Even Professor Garrod's startling identification of the soul with love's soul can hardly render plausible his suggestion that Keats is promising to Psyche an open window and a lighted candle—traditionally fatal to moths!—by which she may attract herself in the guise of a moth to her own sanctuary.

It is a parallel identification, or confusion, of terms, that explains one of Professor Garrod's difficulties with the logical connection of the last stanza of the Ode on a Grecian Urn. In this last stanza, says the critic, the Urn "'teases us out of thought, as doth Eternity.' Yet the effect upon which our attention has hitherto been concentrated is that the Urn lifts us out of sense into thought, or at least into 'the spirit'" (p. 106). The whole difficulty here arises from the fact that Professor Garrod makes Keat's "spirit" of the second stanza synonymous with his "thought" of the last. It seems more likely that these two terms represented, in the poet's mind, opposing concepts.

The reader of Professor Garrod's book is bewildered at times by contradictions in the text itself. Against these I should like to forearm him; against the statement that "the pattern cdedec" is "employed in three of Keats' sonnets," though the chronological table gives four examples (17, vi, vii, xviii) of this sestet rime (pp. 145, 142); against the statement that "until the end of 1817, Keats composed sonnets upon the Petrarchian pattern exclusively" (p. 84), although, as we have already seen, Professor Garrod ascribes the sonnet On Peace, with its peculiar and decidedly non-

<sup>14</sup> Complete Works of Keats, v, 58.

Petrarchan rime-scheme, to November, 1815; against the listing of forty-five Petrarchan sonnets in the table, when we had previously been told that "the sonnets of Petrarchian pattern number, in all, 44"; while mention is later made of Keats's "forty-six Petrarchian sonnets"; with a return on the next page to "forty-four Petrarchian sonnets" (pp. 139, 148, 149).

Again, Professor Garrod notes that all but one of the seven Petrarchan sonnets in which the octave is not divided into two quatrains belong to Keats's "earliest period (1815?)" (p. 148), as if the neglect of this division were a distinguishing feature of the poet's early technique. Of the six sonnets which he here relegates to the earliest period, two had already in the chronological table been dated much later: "Minutes are flying"—Oct.-Nov., 1816; v—March, 1817.

The most difficult discrepancy, however, is to be found on page 149, where Professor Garrod suggests some subtle relationship (in fact non-existent) between feminine rimes and two-rime sestets. In the course of the discussion he remarks that "feminine or double rhyme . . . is used in eight sonnets belonging to the months Aug.-Dec. 1816, viz. 'Minutes are quickly' [sic], 1, 2, 6, 12, 15, 16, 17-all of them, save the first, sonnets with sestet on two rhymes. Of the nine sonnets written in these months with tworhyme sestet, all, in fact, save three, show feminine rhyme." If I understand these two statements aright, the only possible interpretation of the first is that in the period Aug.-Dec., 1816, there are eight-minus-one-that is, seven-sonnets which have two-rime sestets and feminine rime; although the second statement assures us that there are only nine-minus-three—that is, six—such sonnets. In actual fact, accepting Professor Garrod's own chronology, there are only two such sonnets.

This same passage, then, exemplifies another type of oversight appearing in Professor Garrod's book. Of the eight sonnets which he lists, stating that "all of them, save the first" are "sonnets with sestet on two rhymes," only two, "Minutes are flying" and 6, do in fact have the two-rime sestet. And of the nine sonnets with two-rhyme sestet written in these months 15 only two,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> 11, "Minutes are flying," 9, 13, 8, 14, 6, "As from the," and viii. according to Professor Garrod's own table.

"Minutes are flying" and 6, do in fact contain the feminine rimes which he ascribes to six of them.

There are several other instances in which facts are misstated; for instance, Professor Garrod declares that the variation in line-length in the Ode to a Nightingale "is confined to reducing the eighth line of each stanza to three feet" (p. 89), without noting the alexandrine in the second stanza: "And with thee fade away into the forest dim." Again, he describes the stanza pattern of the Nightingale Ode and Indolence as abab cde cde (p. 90), not noting that the second stanza of the Ode to a Nightingale is rimed abab cbd cbd, while the fifth stanza of the Ode on Indolence ends cdedce, the sixth cde ced. In the same passage he assigns to the Ode on a Grecian Urn the rime-scheme abab cde dce, though in fact only the first and the last of its five stanzas are so rimed; the second ends with cde ced, while the third and fourth have cde cde.

When Professor Garrod remarks that after February 4, 1818, "all the sonnets are Shakespearian with three exceptions (xviii, xix, and 'Of late two dainties')" (p. 140), he hardly gives due emphasis to the wide divergences from the Shakespearian pattern seen in xxiii, xxvii, and xxviii; 16 and seems completely to overlook the unrimed sonnet, "O thou whose face," composed on February 19, 1818.

In listing the occasional alexandrines appearing in sonnets (pp. 149 f.), Professor Garrod has overlooked examples in 5: "Whisper'd of peace, and truth, and friendliness unquell'd," and ix: "Give me new Phoenix wings to fly at my desire." Here also he describes as an alexandrine a line which is really a fourteener, the ninth line of On Peace: "With England's happiness proclaim Europa's Liberty." In touching upon the types of Petrarchan sonnet used by other poets, he states that Leigh Hunt, prior to 1820, used the cdcdcd sestet in only four out of twenty-eight sonnets, although thereafter he used it in five out of nine sonnets (p. 145). As a matter of fact, Hunt wrote six cdcdcd sestets out of twenty-eight before 1820, and six out of twelve thereafter.17

<sup>16</sup> These are divergences which he himself had previously dwelt upon, p. 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> All these sonnets are to be found in Leigh Hunt's Poetical Works, ed. H. S. Milford, London, 1923; pp. 235-253. Mr. David Lovett, of the Johns Hopkins University, first called attention to this error of Professor Garrod's.

Finally, there are half-a-dozen undoubted misprints which might prove embarrassing to anyone who relied on Professor Garrod's book as an authority: "lead" for "load" in the quotation from the epistle To Charles Cowden Clarke (p. 79); "shall" for "can" in the line quoted from the Lines to Fanny (p. 82); "24" for "23" in the statement of the number of lines in the first stanza of the Ode to Psyche in the 1820 Volume (p. 87); "George" Keats for "Tom" as the authority for the date of Vulgar Superstition (p. 143); "Minutes are quickly" as a catch-title for the sonnet "Minutes are flying swiftly," passim; "" v" for "iv" where Professor Garrod says that the last line of sonnet v is perhaps an alexandrine (p. 150)—the last line of v is in fact "A sun, a shadow of a magnitude," while iv, which is not mentioned, has "Of their star in the East, and gone to worship them."

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## THE DATE OF WORDSWORTH'S FIRST MEETING WITH HAZLITT

Writing of the date of Hazlitt's first visit to Coleridge in Modern Language Notes for December, 1927, Professor George W. Whiting thinks it probable "that Hazlitt came to Stowey in the latter part of May or the first part of June." With this assumption Professor George M. Harper is in agreement, inclining to May as preferable; and P. P. Howe, the biographer of Hazlitt, likewise dates the arrival in Stowey "with some certainty at the last days of May." But since J. Dykes Campbell, the biographer of Coleridge, dates the visit "probably in April," all pertinent evidence should now be set forth. That which follows has not, I believe, been hitherto considered, but it supports the assumption of Harper, Howe, and Whiting.

From Hazlitt's own account of this visit we learn that on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> For a facsimile of the holograph with the proper reading, see the London *Times Literary Supplement* for May 21, 1914, p. 242.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> William Wordsworth, 1, 345, 349.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Hazlitt, p. 41 n.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Coleridge, Poetical Works, ed. Campbell, p. xli.

second day after he reached Nether Stowey "Wordsworth arrived from Bristol at Coleridge's cottage." [Wordsworth] "had been to see *The Castle-Spectre*, by Monk Lewis, while at Bristol, and described it very well. . . . We [Hazlitt and Coleridge] went over to Alfoxden . . . the day following, and Wordsworth read us the story of *Peter Bell* in the open air." <sup>4</sup>

What were the dates of performance in Bristol of *The Castle-Spectre*, a play fresh in Wordsworth's mind when he met Hazlitt? Bonner and Middleton's *Bristol Journal* (vol. XXIV) announces *The Castle-Spectre* for

Monday, April 23. 'Never performed here.'
Monday, April 30. 'Performed here but once.'
Monday, May 7. 'Third time of performing,'
Monday, May 21.
Monday, June 4. 'Last time this season.'

The play on May 14 was *The-Heir-at-Law*, and on May 28 *The Dramatist*. Therefore Wordsworth, we may assume, returned from Bristol shortly after April 23, April 30, May 7, May 21, or June 4. On one of these dates he must have seen the play.

As Dorothy's Journal indicates and as Professor Whiting reminds us, Peter Bell was not begun until April 20; and even the early draft of it read to Hazlitt the day following Wordsworth's return from Bristol must have taken some time for its composition. Moreover, on the day after the Bristol performance of April 23 Wordsworth was walking with Coleridge and Dorothy in the neighborhood of Alfoxden and Nether Stowey. He did not see the first performance of The Castle-Spectre in Bristol, we may be sure.

Dorothy's Journal does not refer to Hazlitt in the record of April 24, 25, 26, 27, when Coleridge and the Wordsworths were every day together, and preoccupied (April 26) with sittings for the Shuter portrait; but we know that on April 10 Hazlitt was in Llangollen Vale waiting a 'week or two' until Coleridge might send for him.<sup>5</sup> Thus we should expect him at Nether Stowey by April 30. In that case, however, his visit of 'three weeks' would conflict most awkwardly with the birth of Berkeley Coleridge on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Collected Works of William Hazlitt, ed. Waller and Glover, XII, 259-275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Life, p. 31; Works, XII, 268.

May 14. For this reason the visit must have been further postponed. Hazlitt returned to Wem from Llangollen; and Dorothy (after a lapse in her record from April 29 through May 5) does not mention him in Coleridge's company May 6, 7, 8. It is unlikely that Wordsworth reported to him the performance of *The Castle-Spectre* for April 30.

On May 6 Wordsworth was at Alfoxden, with scant probability of a hurried trip to Bristol the day following, especially when we consider that on May 9 he sent to Cottle at Bristol a letter inviting him to Alfoxden in terms that imply some lapse of time since the two had conferred. This is strong evidence that Wordsworth did not see the performance of May 7.

The Castle-Spectre was performed neither on May 14 nor on May 28. Did Wordsworth attend the performance of May 21? or, less likely, the performance of June 4? On Wednesday, May 16, as Dorothy relates, Coleridge, William, and herself set forward to the Cheddar rocks, sleeping that night at Bridgewater. We are not sure how long the three visited the neighborhood of Cheddar; but from Cross, on their return, Wordsworth carried a letter written by Coleridge to the Reverend J. P. Estlin of Bristol. Wordsworth, says Coleridge, comes to Bristol not only on the chance of seeing Lloyd, but "likewise to see his own Bristol friends, as he is so near them." 6 Cross is about half-way between Bridgewater and Bristol on the road which connects them, and it lies some six miles westerly from Cheddar. Returning from Cheddar the three friends would conveniently part here, Coleridge and Dorothy homeward to receive Hazlitt, Wordsworth for Bristol. The date of Coleridge's letter to Estlin is not established; 7 but I believe that Wordsworth arrived at Bristol in time for the performance of the Castle-Spectre on May 21. Hazlitt's three-weeks' visit, if thus begun in the week of May 21, would have ended about the second week of June. This would accord with the circumstances of his departure in company with Coleridge from Bridgewater to Bristol. Thence Hazlitt could pro-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. E. H. Coleridge, 1, 245-246.

<sup>&</sup>quot;I can find no evidence for Howe's assumption that the letter was written May 22 except the invalidated entry in the *Journal*: '22nd, Thursday.—Walked to Cheddar. Slept at Cross.' Knight discovered that May 22, 1798, was Tuesday.

ceed home to Wem, and Coleridge continue to Stoke d'Abernon, where he visited the Wedgwoods "in June." \*

If, on the other hand, we assume that Wordsworth prolonged his stay in Bristol until June 4, his next and last opportunity of witnessing Lewis' play, we must postpone by two weeks more the already much delayed arrival of Hazlitt at Stowey; in that case Coleridge would have found it difficult to visit Josiah Wedgwood and return by June 26 when Wordsworth and Dorothy came to spend a week with him on their way to Bristol, the Wye, and Germany.<sup>9</sup>

It seems highly probable that Wordsworth saw *The Castle-Spectre* in Bristol May 21, 1798, and shortly thereafter described it to William Hazlitt.

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### THE FIRST REVIEW OF WORDSWORTH'S POETRY

John Louis Haney, in his Early Reviews of English Poets, reprints a review of Wordsworth's Descriptive Sketches from the Monthly Review for October, 1793, in order to show the early hostility of the reviewers to Wordsworth's poetry. Likewise, he reprints a review of An Evening Walk, 'simply an appended paragraph to the previous article.'

Another review of Wordsworth's An Evening Walk was published under date of March, 1794, in the Gentleman's Magazine. Though written some six months before, September 6, 1793, and thus antedating by a month the Monthly Review for October, 1793, it is important from yet another standpoint: instead of being hostile and censorious, it is extremely favorable. The reviewer is highly pleased with An Evening Walk; so well pleased, indeed, that he trusts that Wordsworth 'will restore to us that laurel to which, since Gray laid down "his head upon the lap of earth," and Mason "declined into the vale of years," we have had so slight

<sup>\*</sup> Sandford, Thomas Poole and his Friends, 1, 271.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Harper, op. cit., I, 118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> John Louis Haney, Early Reviews of English Poets, Philadelphia, 1904, pp. 16-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 201.

pretensions.' We are content to let his zeal for Wordsworth more than make up for his literary acumen.

Apparently this review has been overlooked by Wordsworth's commentators. It is not noticed, for instance, by Knight or Harper, Poole or Haney—probably because what Mr. Haney says of the *Gentleman's Magazine* is, as a rule, true, 'In literature it printed merely a "Register of New Books" without comment of any sort.' <sup>3</sup>

 An Evening Walk, an Epistle to a Young Lady, from the Lakes of the North of England. By W. Wordsworth, A. B., of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Reviewed by a Travelling Correspondent.

Mr. UBBAN,

Penrith, Sept. 6.

ON my arrival at this place, after having just compleated a tour of the Lakes, I chanced yesterday to meet with Mr. Wordsworth's poem. I have read it through carefully more than once; and, finding myself much pleased with it, not only as a poem in the abstract, but more particularly as a companion of the traveller who knows how to feel and estimate the real beauties of Nature, and, at the same time, is not averse to the children of the Muse; I know not how I can better repay to these delightful vales the very large debt of pleasure I owe them, than by attempting farther to extend the prevalence of their charms, by recommending this poem to the attention of their several visitants.

Of the author of this poem the only knowledge I can boast is that of having seen him once or twice while I was his contemporary at Cambridge. The only time, indeed, that I have a clear recollection of having met him, I remember his speaking very highly in praise of the beauties of the North; with a warmth indeed which, at that time, appeared to me hardly short of enthusiasm. He mentioned too, which appears also from the present poem, that he had received the whole of his education in the very bosom of the Lakes, at a small seminary, which has produced of late years in our University several names which have done it very considerable credit.

After giving a short characteristic sketch of the principal Lakes, he concludes the enumeration with that of Esthwaite, the name of the one which adorns the sweet vale,

"where he taught, a happy child, The echoes of the rocks his carols wild."

After some beautiful and pathetic lines which contrast his present with his former wanderings,

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid., Introduction p. xliv.

"When link'd with thoughtless mirth he cours'd the plain, And hope itself was all he knew of pain,"

he checks his complaints, and proceeds thus,

"Say, will my friend, with soft affection's ear, The hist'ry of a poet's evening hear?"

Afterwards succeeds a very accurate and well-marked description of a sultry summer's noon, and a waterfall, which, as a note informs us, is meant to convey the features of that delicious little scene, the lower cascade at Rydal, where he hides himself

"Till eve's mild hour invites his steps abroad."

Among the several particulars of his Walk your readers will admire the following description of a slate quarry. . . . 4

Of this poem I have yet seen no review. I wish the pleasure, which I myself have received from it, to be imparted to others who shall have to make, or who have already made, the same tour. Lest, however, anyone should be tempted to look into this poem by my recommendation and find himself disappointed, I must forewarn your readers that no description of particular spots is here aimed at; such an attempt in poetry could have been productive of little but vague, uninteresting, description, and tiresome repetition: they will find, however, the general imagery of the country enumerated and described with a spirit and elegance which prove that the author has viewed nature with the attentive and warm regard of a true poet. Feeling for the credit of my own University, I think we have reason to expect much from this, I suppose, first production (though by no means a faultless one) of Mr. W's muse; I trust he will restore to us that laurel to which, since Gray laid down "his head upon the lap of earth," and Mason "declined into the vale of years," we have had so slight pretensions. From the concluding page of this poem I am glad to find it is not the only offspring of Mr. Wordsworth's pen; he there advertises "Descriptive Sketches taken during a pedestrian Tour in the Alps."

PEREGRINATOR.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Here follow lines 7-18, which may be found on page 5 of the Everyman's edition of The Longer Poems of William Wordsworth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Here follow lines 7-40, which may be found on page 10, and lines 1-16, which may be found on page 11 of the same edition,

But for the meagre self-revelations given in the review, the identity of *Peregrinator* remains a blank. Yet it is significant that not another review in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1794 is signed.

One not only wonders why he was permitted to sign Peregrinator, but also why his review, dated September, was kept until March of the next year; and why a review as long as this, in comparison with the few lines sometimes given to more important books, was published at all. One searches as vainly in subsequent numbers of the Gentleman's Magazine for more than passing notices of Wordsworth or his poetry as one searches for Peregrinator. Why did the Gentleman's Magazine so kindly hail the budding poet and accord one of his earliest ventures into verse such a favorable review, only to lose sight of him or to ignore him deliberately thereafter?

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### A LETTER OF COLERIDGE

The following letter of Coleridge, now in my possession, I have not seen in print. As it deals with the working of Coleridge's remarkable mind in the process of composition, it seems worth while to call attention to it. The letter is dated only "Wednesday Noon," the paper shows no water-mark of any kind, and the sole indication of the time of writing is the fact that it is addressed to "Mr. Hessey" and deals with the correction of the proofs of a work published by his firm, Taylor and Hessey. This would presumably be Aids to Reflection, which appeared in May or June, 1825. But the letter may come from the preceding year; Coleridge had wrestled long with the task of getting this work completed and through the press. As early as January 23, 1824, Lamb wrote to Bernard Barton: "Coleridge's book is in good part printed, but sticks a little for more copy."

Dear Sir

God be praised! I have here inclosed the last of the manifoldly and intricately altered and augmented Proofs—and I venture you [sic] to assure you, that the Copy you will receive the day after tomorrow will be a fair specimen of all that will follow—and that there shall be no

further delays on my part—except only what I cannot help, that I take more than twice the time in correcting a proof, and in fact in every mode and appurtenance of Composition, than writers in general—partly, no doubt, from the state of my health, but in part likewise from the distressing activity and if I may use such a phrase, the excessive productivity of my mind.

respectfully and truly your obliged S. T. COLERIDGE

Wednesday Noon

I doubt if Coleridge ever analyzed his mental processes more accurately in brief space. The welling up of ideas in throngs from his vast reading he evidently found, as he describes it here, a "distressing activity." Hazlitt, Carlyle and many others have told of the astonishing conversational effect of the "excessive productivity." The great rush of ideas evidently required extreme care afterwards in correcting proof, and the expenditure of much more than the usual time "in every mode and appurtenance of Composition," not to find ideas, but to put them into exactly the right form.

There is much of the tragedy and futility of Coleridge's career in the resolution as to the excellence of the copy to be furnished "the day after tomorrow" and the promise of no further delays, qualified immediately, quite in the Coleridgean manner, by the pathetic "except only what I cannot help."

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#### BURNS AND THE INDIES IN 1788

Among the minor puzzles in Burns's life is his supposed revival, in 1788, of the intention to emigrate to the West Indies. The proof that the idea had recurred to him rests wholly on a passage in a letter to Mrs. M'Lehose (Clarinda), which Burns wrote from Mauchline, 23 Feb. 1788, just before he set out to take a final appraising look at Ellisland farm. In all editions the passage reads: "I set off tomorrow for Dumfries-shire. 'Tis merely out of compliment to Mr Miller; for I know the Indies must be my lot."

Scott Douglas, who first collected the letter, is stirred to almost lyric indignation:

This . . . letter . . . taken in connexion with the letter to Ainslie of 3d March 1788, places Burns in a very disadvantageous light at this stage of his history. The unhinged condition of his moral fabric is strongly exemplified in the grim remark, 'I know the Indies must be my lot.' Strange that in closing his exciting Edinburgh career, he should sink into the same rut from which he emerged in November 1786! See his letter to Aiken, 8th October 1786, in which he states the reasons that urge him to go abroad, rather than manfully gird himself to engage in the battle of life.<sup>1</sup>

The violence of this criticism is the more surprising in view of Douglas's admission that he had never seen the manuscript on which his text is based:

We take this from the columns of the Banffshire Journal, in which it appeared some years ago, 'as printed from the original,' which was described as considerably mutilated, the upper portion being cut off.<sup>2</sup>

That manuscript is now a part of the remarkable Burns collection which has been formed by Mr. Robert P. and Mrs. Mildred C. Esty of Ardmore, Pennsylvania. The present writer has been favored with a photostatic copy, from which it is possible for the first time to discover what Burns actually wrote.

The letter is written on the recto and verso of the first page of an ordinary quarto sheet. The second page, which formed the cover, apparently bore nothing except the address. Two-thirds of this page, including all the address—except the bottom of the "E", and the line which underscored "Edin"—is missing, and the postmark, "Mauchline," has been almost obliterated with crisscross pen-strokes. Such treatment of most of the proper names in Burns's letters to her was characteristic of Clarinda's notion of discretion in preserving the manuscripts. When we turn to the body of the letter we find that she has similarly canceled the names "Dumfries-shire," "Mr Miller," "Mr Gavin Hamilton," and the words which the contributor to the Banffshire Journal guessed to be "the Indies." Moreover, the top of the page has been cut off,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Works of Robert Burns, ed. W. Scott Douglas, Edinburgh, 1877-79, v, 95 n.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., v, 94. The more cautious Wallace suspects something wrong, but in the absence of the manuscript limits himself to a footnote: "If this letter is authentic, Burns must still have had some thoughts of Jamaica as a last resort" (*Life and Works of Burns*, ed. R. Chambers, rev. W. Wallace, Edinburgh, 1896, II, 306 n.).

carrying with it the place and date on the recto, and probably one line of text on the verso—the mutilation referred to in Douglas's note. The unknown editor has correctly deciphered the three proper names, and gives the legible portions of the text with subtantial accuracy. But in two instances he has indulged in very bad guess-work.

The printed text of the letter has a postscript: "P. S. Remember." This does not appear at all in the manuscript. One has the choice of believing that the Banffshire amateur invented it by way of giving artistic finish to the letter, or that he made an extraordinarily fatuous guess at the meaning of the canceled postmark on the cover.

His other error is more excusable, but much more serious. "The" is lightly canceled, but the cross-strokes are especially heavy on the word which he read as "Indies," and the difficulty of deciphering it is enhanced by its being divided at the end of a line. Nevertheless, even in the photostat, where one lacks the aid which the different color of the ink might give in an examination of the manuscript itself, the outline of a thoroughly Burnsian capital "E" is visible through the cancelations, and the following letter is "x". The four letters at the beginning of the next line are illegible, except for the dot of an "i"; it is certain, however, that none of them is "d", for the cancelations are so low that the top of a "d" would project above them. In short, what Burns really wrote was, "I know the Excise must be my lot"—a remark completely in accord with what he had been saying in all his other correspondence for several months past. But whoever sent the letter to the Banffshire Journal knew merely that Burns had once talked of going to the Indies, and, being ignorant of the exact chronology of his life, tried a wild shot at the canceled word instead of making a serious effort to decipher it. There are grounds enough on which to charge Burns with vacillation during the early months of 1788, but there remains no shadow of evidence that he ever again thought of flight to the Indies after he turned his back on Greenock in the autumn of 1786.

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### A NOTE ON THE PROSODY OF WILLIAM MORRIS

One characteristic of the poetry of William Morris that can hardly escape even the most casual reader is the unorthodox nature of so many of his rhymes. He often rhymes a strongly accented syllable and one that bears little or no accent: trees: images, carbuncle: fell, morning: thing. This is, of course, a liberty that all poets take, but few to the extent that Morris does, and in some cases he makes it very difficult to shift the accent so as to secure any semblance of rhyme. The following stanza from Shameful Death is an illustration:

He did not die in the night, He did not die in the day, But in the morning twilight His spirit passed away.

If Morris intended such a thing here he may have intended it in other cases where we make such an effort to avoid it.

But his peculiarity in rhymes goes even further, for he often makes use, not of similar but of identical sounds. Passing over "equivocal" rhymes like wild rose: silver rows, two: too, and one fell blow: winds blow, we find dame my lord: bones my lord, Gawaine lie: that you lie, here see: to see, one way: away, wither it: dew on it, sea-roving: ransoming, and many others of the same kind. According to normal practice these last are not rhymes at all, at least in English. But they are in Welsh, the language of Morris's ancestors, and as Welsh poetry also makes frequent use of just the sort of rhyming of accented with unaccented syllables of which Morris was so fond, it may be that we have here a clue to some of the peculiarities of his verse.\(^1\) It is true that his biographer, Mackail, says of him, "For Welsh poetry he did not care

"Identity of terminal syllable forms rhyme in Welsh.... Thus, according to general Welsh practice, forms like morning and singing are held to constitute regular rhyme—this may be seen reflected in many modern attempts by Welshmen to write English verse. Another distinctly Welsh peculiarity is the rhyming of accented with unaccented syllables, permissible in all the strict metres and obligatory in some of them." T. Gwynn Jones, "Welsh Poetic Art: A Review," Y Cymmrodor, xxxvi, 1926, 40-41.

deeply," <sup>2</sup> but this is in itself an admission that he was familiar with such poetry, a fact that might have been surmised from his friendship for Burne-Jones, who attempted to make a study of it. I believe that Mackail's statement refers only to the elaborate system of consonantal correspondences which forms such a prominent part of Welsh poetry, and for which Morris shows little or no interest, and that certain of the other features did make an impression upon him, if only to the extent of making his ear more tolerant toward what many of his friends considered laxities in his verse. When some one tried once to reason with him over these he replied that they sounded all right to him and he believed that if he read the poetry aloud he could make them sound all right to others.<sup>3</sup>

A suggestion such as I have made is of no great value unless some application can be made of it. In the present case I believe that it offers us a clue to the manner in which Morris would have read certain lines from which the ordinary English systems of scansion would extract every vestige of poetry, lines, for example, such as the following couplet from *The Chapel in Lyoness*, which, read as we are apt to consider it our duty to read it, is simply barbarous:

Greát blue éyes fix'd fúll on mé? Ón his soúl, Lord, have mercý.

But if Morris had read it as a couplet in the *cywydd* metre or as the concluding couplet of an *englyn* (for the two are the same), the two most common of the native Welsh metres, he could, without forcing the accents in the least, have made them sound perfectly natural to him.

In this type of couplet each line contains seven syllables and the two lines rhyme, except that one of them—it does not matter which one—ends in an accented syllable, while the other ends in an unaccented syllable. The distribution of accents within the line does not divide it into feet after the English manner, but adapts itself to the consonantal pattern that the line contains, and varies from line to line. In one of the commonest forms the line divides into two parts similarly accented; each part has a primary stress at the end and may have a secondary stress, based upon the normal word accent, one or more syllables before it. Between the two

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> J. M. Mackail, The Life of William Morris, London, 1907, 1, 13.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., I, 57.

parts there may be one or more syllables of which no account is made in reckoning the parallelism between the two parts, or if the line ends in an unaccented syllable this may remain unanswered at the end of the first part. The movement of a couplet in this metre may be illustrated by the following written in English on the Welsh model:

Nìght may dáre nòt, my deárest, Shàdow thrów where shè doth rést; 4

We might apply the same accentuation to the couplet from Morris (changing the order of the lines, which is perfectly permissible), or possibly we may think that the following line of Tomas Prys better fits Morris's first line:

Hear thou lád under the leé 5

We would then have instead of the ordinary scansion of the couplet something quite different—the normal accentuation of a Welsh couplet, although without the other characteristic feature of Welsh "cynghanedd."

> Great blue éyes fix'd full on mé? On his soúl, Lòrd, have mércy.

This not only preserves the normal accent of the words, but brings out a certain amount of expression that is wholly lost as the lines are usually read.

Another couplet which is likewise greatly improved by reading it in the Welsh instead of the English manner is the refrain from Ogier the Dane.

Kiss me love, for who knoweth What thing cometh after death?

Scanned as we are usually told to scan it, as trochaic tetrameter catalectic, it is horrible, and it is difficult to believe that anyone with a spark of poetry in him could have intended it to be so read. But if read in accordance with the principles set forth above the lines take on a new beauty.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> T. Gwynn Jones, op. cit., p. 44. This couplet illustrates also the correspondence of consonants which determines the position of the accents. Where possible I have drawn my illustrations from poetry written in English, but they could more easily be adduced from poetry in Welsh.

<sup>5</sup> Cited by J. Glyn Davies, Welsh Metrics, London, 1911, 1, 29.

Kiss me love for who knoweth What thing cometh after death?

These suggestions, if adopted, will not explain away all, or even nearly all, of the irregularities in Morris's poetry. They will however reduce the number of "bad" lines and will keep us from forcing certain lines and rhyme words into a scheme that the author probably never intended that they should fit into.

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## THE SEMANTICS OF 'CHILD'

In an interesting book on a child's learning to speak van Ginneken asserts that 'speechless,' 'not talking' have become in many languages the ordinary word for 'child.' So striking and curious an assertion needs support, which the author hastens to give by citing infans and vinus. On a moment's consideration the assertion becomes improbable: so simple and necessary a concept as that of 'child' can scarcely call for a description in negative terms. We may therefore undertake the task, which van Ginneken neglects, and assemble as many words for 'child' as is readily possible, with a view to seeing whether 'not speaking' is an ordinary method of forming a name for the concept 'child.' The collection will prove or disprove the correctness of the assertion

The models taken for the scansion of these two lines are different from the types cited above, but are in accordance with Welsh practice. The first is like another line of Tomas Prys cited by Davies, op. cit., 39, "Fight for store and leave sorrow"; for the other I have found no model in English, but it has much the same effect as a Welsh line from Dewi Glan Teifi cited by John Morris Jones in Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, IV (1903), 140, "Ac fe'u pàsia gýda gwén."

De Roman van een kleuter (Nijmegen 1917), p. 3: Het eerste, wat iedereen aan een klein kind opvalt, is: dat het niet kan praten. Daarom is "sprakeloos," "nietpratend" in veel talen het gewone woord voor kind geworden. Zoo komt bijv. het Fransche woord enfant van het Latijnsche in-fans, dat letterlijk vertald "niet-pratend" beteekent, even als het Grieksche κήπιος dat volkomen aan "sprakeloos" beantwoordt.

<sup>2</sup> I acknowledge gratefully the invaluable assistance rendered by my friends, Leonard Bloomfield, Fay Cooper-Cole, Ellsworth Faris, F. W. Geers, Chester Nathan Gould, Edward Sapir, Martin Sprengling.

and may easily be instructive from other points of view. Completeness within such an article as this is necessarily out of the question: the tabulation, for example, of the Gallo-Roman words for 'child,' boy,' and 'girl' covers 427 pages and is even then incomplete. Yet we may hope to present even in this brief space the ordinary types of formations and to cover the greater number of languages for which etymological dictionaries of any sort exist. At no point shall I venture to control the correctness of the etymologies or to reconcile differences between authorities, unless these matters should happen to concern the point of central importance, viz., the use of a negative and a word meaning 'speech' or 'to speak.' Ordinarily, even in the most unexplored languages etymologically, it is possible to discern whether a negative or privative element appears in a word.

The necessity, moreover, of a conspectus is forced upon us by the first logical step in examining van Ginneken's assertion. Do the examples which he cites bear out his assertion? According to the latest Greek etymological dictionary,  $^3\nu\eta\pi\omega$ s is more correctly interpreted as  $^*\nu\eta$ - $\pi_F$ - $\omega$ s, that is to say, 'foolish,' a meaning which elsewhere often develops into that of 'child.' And the conventional etymology of infans is no longer to be accepted without thoughtful consideration of the etymology proposed by Wood, who sees in it "\*en 'in' and \*bhuānt-, root bheuā-' grow, become, be,' with ablaut as in -bam, -bās, etc. Hence the primary meaning of infans was 'growing within, ingrowth,  $\xi\mu\phi\nu\sigma$ s,' and then 'a newborn child, a young animal.' For the meaning compare Gr.  $\beta\rho\nu$  'swell,'  $\xi\mu\beta\rho\nu\nu\nu$  'embryo; lambkin, kid.'" In other words, more than a little doubt prevails regarding the examples given to support the assertion.

On looking a little farther we find that a learned volume, to which allusion has already been made, has been devoted to the etymologies of the three words enfant, garçon, and fille in the Gallo-Roman dialects.<sup>6</sup> This erudite work saves us the labor of

 $<sup>^{</sup>s}$  Boisacq, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, Paris, 1916, s. v.

<sup>4</sup> See below, § 2.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Some Latin Etymologies," Classical Philology, XI (1916) 209.

<sup>\*</sup>Ivan Pauli, "Enfant," "garçon," "fille" dans les langues romanes étudiés particulièrement dans les dialects gallo-romans et italiens, Lund,

assembling the words from the Romance languages generally and provides us with a convenient survey of the types of formation. These types are as follows: words designating the child in relation to father or mother, to other relatives, words designating sex, youth, the family, the social status, words referring to local customs, proper names, words denoting tenderness, pity, and depreciation, words referring to a quality or a characteristic, words suggested by the cut of the hair, by the clothes or a part of the body, metaphors, onomatopoetic formations of various sorts. Such variety bears out the old proverb, "Geliebte Kinder haben viele Namen." The absence of negative compounds and of words employing any form of the verb 'to speak' is conspicuous. I hasten to point out that the formation infans, whatever be its origin, is, so far as the Romance languages are concerned, a simplex. There is perhaps evidence that the conventional etymology was present in the minds of some speakers, for we recall the existence of such words as Sp. infante and Eng. infant one who cannot speak with legal authority,' and in these the old popular and juridical etymology may well have persisted. Beyond making suitable reference to Pauli's collections I shall ordinarily omit words in the Romance languages from the following collection of illustrative material.

#### 1. 'small.'

Engl. tad, tot; Ger., das Kleine; Hung., åpröd (cf. Szinnyei, Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwiss.<sup>2</sup> [Samml. Göschen No. 463], p. 86); Ass.-Babyl., şuḥaru, şuḥartu (: ṣaḥâru 'to be small'), quttinnu (: qatânu 'to be small'); Syriac-Aramaic båbōrsa 'child,' also 'little pupil of the eye'; Syriac zāṭəra; Arabic ṭifl; Takelma (s. w. Oregon) hapxi; Nootka t'a'na; and diminutives generally.<sup>7</sup>

#### 2. 'foolish.'

Gr.  $\nu\dot{\eta}\pi\iota\sigma$ ; mod. coll. Gr.  $\mu\omega\rho\dot{\sigma}$ ; Swed. toka (cf. Pauli, p. 256). Compare Hupa (n. w. Calif.)  $midj\dot{\epsilon}\cdot\dot{\epsilon}\cdot din'$  its-mind-be-without-the, i.~e., 'mindless.'

1919. The reviews have been uniformly favorable, although many more words appear to call for inclusion; see, e. g., von Wartburg, Zs. f. rom. Philol., XLI (1921), 612-17 and Spitzer, Literaturbl., XLII (1921), 18-24.

7 See also Pauli, pp. 273 ff.

8 See also Pauli, pp. 236 ff.

3. Onomatopoesis.

Eng. baby.9

4. Words with obvious physiological associations.

Gr. βρέφος (see Boisacq, p. 133)<sup>10</sup> and Eng. child (: Gothic kilþō) are usually related to words for 'womb'; Ass.-Babyl. lîdu, ildu, lellidu, walîdu (: walada 'to bear'); Aramaic šavrå (perhaps related to šavar 'to break out of the hull'); Gr. τέκνον, τέκνος; Eng. bairn, Lett. behrns (cf. Falk and Torp s. v. barn); 11 Ger. Kind and Old Welsh cynt (: Lat. gigno); Haida lqên (: qên 'to give birth'; see Durlach, "Relationship Systems of the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian" [Publ. Am. Ethnol. Soc., XI, 1928], p. 77); Lat. incrementum (see Frank, Class. Philol., XI [1916], 334 ff.); 12 North Athabaskan t'oě-d-nan 'boy,' 'child' i. e., 'the one moving out'; Eng. get (obs., see Henley and Farmer s. v.). The Central Algonquian words for 'child' point to a type \*nētcyāna (e. g., Menomini nitsian, in possessed form always with diminutive ending ninītsianeh 'my child'). The corresponding medial element is \*-etcyā- (e. g. Menomini uskātsian 'firstborn child,' kēmenetsiakan 'bastard'). The relation between the initial and the medial form is obscure. What with the alternation of  $\bar{a}$ :  $\ddot{a}^{14}$  the word may be connected with \*-etcyä- 'belly' (e.g., Fox pāgetcäcinwa 'he falls on his belly'; see Bloomfield, Festschrift Meinhof, p. 399).

'ul (found in various forms in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic (cf. root gâl), and Syriac; has the root meaning 'suckle, nourish'; Eng. suckling (cf. also Eng. son; Gr. viós [see Boisacq s. v.]); Old Bulg. děti (cf. Berneker, Slav. ety. Wb., I, 196; Walde, Lat. ety. Wb. s. v. filius); Ass.-Babyl. êniqu, êniqtu, tinêqu (:enêqu 'to suck') and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See also Pauli, pp. 359-64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> But see Wood, Journ. Eng. and Ger. Philol., II (1898), 215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Larsen ("Om ordet barn i oldnorsk og i de nynorske bygdemal," Arkiv f. nord. fil., xxx [1905], 125-131) brings nothing of importance for us.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See also Pauli, pp. 68 ff. Pauli's note (p. 217, n. 1) can scarcely be correct in view of the actual Latin use of *incrementum* for 'child.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> But cf. Int. Journ. Am. Ling., IV (1927), 187; Bloomfield, Festschrift Meinhof (Hamburg 1927), p. 400.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See Int. Journ. Am. Ling., IV (1927), 196.

compare Hebrew jōneq, Aramaic janqā, jānōqā; Arabic radi 'sucklings'; Ass.-Babyl. lilipu (:alāpu 'to grow up').15

5. Words denoting bodily uncleanliness. It has been said that these words are characteristically south European in their use, although this is not exclusively the case.

Alb. k'erós 'scabby, youngest child'; Ital. mozzo (<mucus) and compare Ital. (dial.) vava (<\*baba 'drool'; cf. Meyer-Lübke s. v); Fr. (argot) moutard (<mout 'drooling'; cf. Sainéan, Le langage parisien au XIXe siècle [Paris 1920], pp. 290, 477; Meyer-Lübke s. v.; Deschanel, Les déformations de la langue française, pp. 240-41); Mid. Low Germ. dätel (cf. W. Braune, Niederdt. Scherzgedichte v. J. Lauremberg [1879], p. 112 s. v. Snappentötel); Rum. putoiu (<puta 'membrum virile of small children'); 16 Old Icel. silekur.

Into the myriad ideas which have given rise in one place or another to the meaning 'child' I shall not attempt to bring order. I list words, which, though we do not know their etymology, evidently do not contain the concepts 'not' and 'speaking.' Where possible I have given an etymology.

#### 6. Miscellaneous.

Ass.-Babyl. darku (:'to be weak'), šerru (:'to be weak'); Ass.-Babyl. bûru and the Sumerian loan mûru contain no trace of 'not' or 'speaking'; Eng. brat (Celtic 'rag'; cf. Weekley, An Ety. Dict. of the Eng. Lang. s. v.), which we may compare with Sp. chico (\langle plicus; cf. W. I. Knapp, Mod. Sp. Readings [Boston 1883], p. iv; see a contradictory etymology recommended in Pauli, p. 249, n. 2); Finn. lapsi (see J. Budenz, Magyar-Ugor Összehasonlító Szótár [Budapest 1873-81], p. 701, § 759); Welsh plant; Eng. bantling; Eng. kid and compare Aramaic taljå (Mk. 5:41); Syriac (Aramaic) gəris'a 'shaved, beardless'; Syriac sətörta; Arabic 'alajma, gulani (:'sex dream'); Arabic ṣabî; Persian batša (: Middle Persian batša 'joint of a finger'), pesar, farzand; Turkish oghlu, tšodžuq; Lonkunda (or Lomongo, Equatorial Congo) bonoju

 $<sup>^{18}\,\</sup>mathrm{In}$  general, this type of formation appears to be rare in the Gallo-Roman dialects.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Note that this last development is paralleled in vulgar American speech and see Bloomfield, "Physigunkus," *Mod. Philol.*, xv (1917-8), 587; Pauli, pp. 206 ff.

('child,' pl. benaju), bona ('baby,' pl. bana); 17 Mordvinian id'ak'a (cf. Szinnyei, Finnische-ugrische Sprachwiss.², p. 84); Wotjak nunika (cf. Szinnyei l. c.); Wogul ńàramàGe-m ('my baby,' cf. Szinnyei l. c.); Yana (northern Calif.) dāt'i; Ilocano ubing 'child,' (secondary meaning: 'minor servant'); Malay kanak or kanak kanak; Shetland ormek, urmek, urmel (perhaps orm 'snake'); Shetl. fjorek, fjörek (fjorr 'to show affection'); Shetl. naitek, naiti, natti; Shetl. nitrek, nittek (intret 'stubborn'); Low Ger. purre; Shetl. päitek, päitin, pattin; Shetl. plutsek; Dan. (dial.) tull, tullik; Tagalog batà (cf. P. S. Laktaw, Diccionario tagálog-hispano [Manila 1914] s. v.).

A sufficient mass of material is now before us to permit our reaching certain conclusions. There is no reason for believing that 'speechless' is the ordinary word for 'child' in many languages; in fact our search has not revealed a single uncontested example in any language. We discern the existence of two large groups of etymologies. The apparently older group, to which it seems that few modern additions are being made, includes words which have reference to birth, the womb, or to sucking. A much more numerous and varied class, which is receiving constant additions, is composed of nouns derived from descriptive words, either adjectives or nouns with meanings lending themselves to metaphorical The sequence of thought is often unexpected, but rarely inapt. From such notions as 'small,' 'foolish,' or 'dirty' the step to the concept 'child' was not a long one and could be taken in many lands. A complete collection of such etymologies might conceivably lend itself to cartographic presentation and in this way reveal areas within which particular types of formation prevailed. It might, on the other hand, appear that some developments had occurred in widely separated places without much likelihood of mutual influence, as in the case of the shift from 'rag' to 'child' in both brat and chico. Such undertakings do not concern us particularly at the moment. So far as the evidence goes and so far as any considerations a priori are helpful, the concept 'child' does not receive 't name from the concept 'speechless.'

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<sup>17</sup> The Lomongo root 'to speak' is tefelu.

## DANTE NOTES, XI

#### THE RAINBOW COLORS

It will be remembered that the seven flames which lead the symbolic procession in *Purg.*, XXIX, are said to paint overhead as they advance a sevenfold strip in rainbow colors. The exact words are (vss. 76-78): "...li sopra rimanea distinto di sette liste, tutte in quei colori onde fa l'arco il Sole e Delia il cinto."

Here many of the commentators remain silent as to what those colors are understood to be; though there is a good deal said about the allegorical meaning involved. The majority of the more recent commentators and translators either say outright, or clearly imply by their diction, that "the" seven colors—that is, the familiar seven "rainbow colors"—are meant; and apparently it is taken for granted that the reader will have initiative enough of his own to assign one to each strip.¹ Occasionally one of them judges that

<sup>1</sup>One is surprised to find so early a commentator as Jacopo della Lana saying "liste in *sette* colori, simile all' yris"—which I take from the Bologna, 1866, edition: perhaps the original reading has been tampered with.

Following are some modern samples:

Pompeo Venturi (1732): "Di sette strisce e nastri di luce st, ma di diversi colori per la diversa combinazione della luce e fumo che usciva da quelle gran fiaccole."

A. J. Butler, *Purg. of D. A.*, with translation and notes (1892); a note: "luminous bands, of the *seven* prismatic colours."

Luigi Rocca, in Lectura Dantis (1904): "una zona distinta nei sette colori dell' iride."

L. Venturi, *Le similitudini dantesche* (3d ed., 1911): "sette strisce, luminose come *i colori* dell' arcobaleno e dell' alone che cinge la luna."

Moore, Studies in Dante, III (1903): "These streamers of light varied in colour as the rainbow, or the lunar halo"; and: "By the presence of every colour of the rainbow we have symbolized the 'diversities of gifts."

Casini: "sette liste luminose, che avevano in sè tutti i colori dell'arcobaleno e dell' alone"—which is repeated verbatim, over thirty years later, in the 1926 Casini-S. A. Barbi.

Scartazzini-Vandelli, unchangell in 8th ed. (1921) from 5th ed. (1907): "77-78. COLORI: dell' arcobaleno . . . e dell' alone "—and in the prefatory paragraph to 61-81: "le 7 liste figurano i 7 doni dello Spirito Santo . . . virtà per avventura indicate anche dai colori dell' arcobaleno e dell'alone" is found in the 5th ed.; while the 8th ed. has the explicit statement: "Le 7 liste di 7 differenti colori figurano, probabilmente, i 7 doni dello Spirito Santo."

Dante meant that each strip was variegated with all the colors of the rainbow.<sup>2</sup>

Only rarely does a commentator definitely show that he is aware that in Dante's time the now so familiar gamut of the seven spectral colors (Newton is said to have added the seventh, indigo) was unknown; <sup>3</sup> and as we have seen, those few commentators have

Mestica: "sette liste si spiegavano in alto raggianti i colori dell' iride
... e dell' alone lunare"; and elsewhere: "vivissima luce che in fasce
iridescenti si dilunga sotto il verde dei rami."

Passerini: "sette liste che presentavano i colori dei quali il sole fa l'arcobaleno e la luna dipinge l'alone."

Pietrobono: "per capire che cosa rappresentino le sette liste e che cosa i sette colori, basta ripensare . . ." etc.

Scarano: "ciascuna era de' sette colori de' quali il sole dipinge il suo arco baleno e la luna il suo alone."

Steiner: "sette liste dipinte coi colori dei quali il sole fa il suo arco." Mazzoni paraphrases: "pennoncelli colorati dei colori dell' arcobaleno." Cary's classic translation has: "all those seven listed colors."

Longfellow's: "sevenfold lists, all of them of the colors Whence the sun's bow is made, and Delia's girdle."

E. H. Plumptre annotates his translation thus: "Each gift of the Spirit has its appropriate colour."

J. A. Wilstach translates: "Their sevenfold tints like those the Sun's bow shows, Or those the girdle of fair Delia knows."

C. E. Wheeler: "Streaked with the colours seven, which make bright Both Delia's girdle, and the sun's own bow."

S. W. Griffith: "Seven bands, in the respective colours Whereof the Sun makes bow, and Delia girdle."

Henry Johnson: "seven bands of every hue like those Of Delia's girdle and the sun-made bow."

Melville Best Anderson (marginal note): "The lunar and solar spectrum."

<sup>2</sup> E. g., Bennassuti (cited by Scartazzini, in Leipzig ed.)—and perhaps Mestica; see the second quotation from him, in footnote 1, above.

<sup>a</sup> E. g., Buti: "tutti in quei colori; cioè di quattro colori"—and his list is that of Landino: "e' colori dell' arco sono rosso, sanguigno, verde, e bianco." (This is copied verbatim in Compendio della Comedia di D. A., by Can. Gio. Palazzi, Venice, 1696: except that the comma is omitted between "rosso" and "sanguigno"—which would leave three colors only.)

Scartazzini, in his Leipzig ed., n. to vs. 78, on the authority of Bähr, Symbolik des mosaischen Cultus, which work he cites, gives: "I colori dell' arcobaleno figurano: Celeste, il cielo sede della rivelazione speciale di Dio, perciò anche le testimonianze di Dio, la legge e i profeti.... Purpureo, la somma dignità, maestà e potenza di Dio.... Cocco, ciò che

evidently made fairly little impression on the rest. A glance at the authorities available to Dante and his generation, and at those few of the early commentators who have taken the trouble to refer to the point, not only shows that fact, but also the not less disturbing fact that there was no generally accepted list of the colors of the rainbow. The poets, notably Dante's favorites, Virgil (e. g., in  $\mathbb{E}n_{\cdot}$ , v, 89 and 609) and Ovid (e. g., in Met., vi, 64), in that airy and irresponsible way that poets have, said "a thousand" colors when referring to the rainbow. But at the other extreme, the reverend words of Aristotle gave the rainbow colors, through the medium of Latin translations, as three: "puniceus, viridis et purpureus," with a fourth mentioned as a sort of intermediary between the first two, and termed "flavus." 4

Isidore of Seville <sup>5</sup> and the Venerable Bede, <sup>6</sup> with others, name four colors, and associate each with one of the four elements: for fire (which they call "coelum") both give "color igneus"; for water, "purpureus"; for air Isidore gives "albus" and Bede "hyacinthinus"; for earth Isidore gives "niger" and Bede "gramineus." Isidore's enumeration of "niger" among the rainbow colors may not be much more of a sign of the mental blindness to which mysticism at its worst may lead, than of the

è comune al fuoco e al sangue, figura di mobilità e di vita, simbolo di Dio qual fonte di vita e qual amor potente che vivifica e salva. . . . Bisso, color bianco, imagine d'innocenza, simbolo della santità di Dio." This was written over half a century ago; and Bähr's work dates from 1837.

Torraca's 5th ed. of the D. C., 1921, in n. to vs. 78 says only: "... sette liste, con i colori dell' arco baleno"; but he gives a cross-reference to Purg., xxv, 93, and in his note to that passage he quotes Brunetto Latini, Tesoro, I, iii, 107: "Il sole manda i suoi raggi tra le nuvole, e fa del suo splendore un arco di quattro colori diversi, perchè ogni elemento vi mette del suo colore; e ciò avviene quando la nuvola è piena e grossa." (An examination of the context shows that Brunetto does not say what those four colors are.)

- 'Meteor., III, ii. Cf. Busnelli, Il concetto e l'ordine del 'Par.' 257 ff.
- <sup>5</sup> De Nat. Rerum, XXXI (Migne, P. L., vol. 83, col. 1004).
- 6 De Nat. Rerum, XXXI (Migne, P. L., vol. 90, col. 252).
- <sup>7</sup> Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago Mundi*, 1, lviii (Migne, P. L., vol. 172, col. 137), has the same description as Bede.

With these lists it is interesting to compare St. Thomas Aquinas' discussion of the four colors of the Veil of the Temple, referring them to the four elements (Summa, I<sup>1</sup>, Qu. 102, Art. 4, Loc. 4): he gives coccum bis tinctum for fire, purpura for water, hyacinthus for air, byssus for earth.

indeterminateness in meaning with which classic terms for color and light were afflicted. But even Buti's "rosso, sanguigno, verde, e bianco" is hardly much more satisfactory to us moderns.

A number of the Church Fathers noted only the two colors at the extremes of the visible spectrum, and gave them mystic reference to the two Judgments: that of the Deluge, and the Last Judgment.<sup>8</sup> Some of them call these two colors red and green, others red and blue. No wonder some of the later authorities were non-committal on the subject—as was Dante.

It is possible that Dante had in mind, as his rainbow colors, the four by which he characterizes the Virtues: red, white, and green, for the three theological virtues, and purple for all the (four) cardinal virtues. Such a distribution of tints would harmonize fairly with the general average of his authorities. However, he does not express himself definitely on this point; and probably he did not feel that he was competent to do so, even if he had wished to. We may compare his reticence in this connection, with that of his so-called "master" Brunetto Latini, who refrains from specifying what the colors of the rainbow are, though he definitely says that they are four in number; 9—the discordance of "authorities" was enough to give pause!

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## THE ITALIAN IMITATIONS OF JERÓNIMO DE HEREDIA

In 1603 there was published in Barcelona a little book entitled Guirnalda de Venus Casta y Amor Enamorado, in two parts, by Jerónimo de Heredia. The first part consists of short lyrics—fifty-three sonnets, five canzoni, and one sestina; the second part is a mythological story in verse and prose, translated from Antonio

<sup>\*</sup>E. g., St. Aug., Expositio in Apoc., Hom. II (Migne, P. L., vol. 35, col. 2426 f.); Rabanus Maurus, De Universo, Lib. IX (Migne, P. L., vol. 111, col. 277 f.); St. Greg. the Great, Hom. in Ezech., Lib. I, Hom. VIII (Migne, P. L., vol. 76, col. 867 f.); Garnier of St. Victor, Gregorianum, Lib. VIII, Cap. XVIII (Migne, P. L., vol. 193, col. 325); Hugo of St. Victor, Exegetica dubia, Lib. I, Cap. XVI (Migne, P. L., vol. 175, col. 643); Richard of St. Victor, In Apoc., Lib. II (Migne, P. L., vol. 196, col. 746 f.).

<sup>\*</sup> See above, at end of note 3.

Minturno, in which the verses inserted in the Italian text are curiously put now in Italian and now in national meters. In his prologue the author states that he had ready for the press another volume containing a translation of Tansillo's Lagrime di San Pietro and Rimas espirituales y morales, but there is no record that it was ever printed. Knowledge of the above work had practically been limited to the meagre descriptions in the catalogues of rare-book collectors until Eugenio Mele, the Italian investigator of Hispano-Italian literary relations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, called attention to the Italian imitations in the first part in two articles: Per la Fortuna delle liriche di Tansillo in Ispagna, Giornale storico della letteratura italiana, LXVI (1915), 284 sq., and Sobre canciones y sonetos italianos y españoles, Revista Castellana, V (1919), 209 sq. In the first he points out three imitations from Tansillo: 1

- Amor, se vuoi ch'io torni al giogo antico. Si quieres que yo torne al yugo antiguo. (pp. 21 v-24 v)
- Nè Mar, che irato gli alti scogli fera.
   Ni mar ayrado que las rocas hiende.
   (p. 8)
- Qual huom che trasse il grave remo e spinse.
   (L. Tansillo)
   Quai hombre que va al remo condenado.
   (p. 22)
- Simile al oceano quando più freme.
   Mar que siempre movible tu agua siento.
   (p. 7)

In the second article he notes three imitations—one from Petrarch and three from other Italians: <sup>2</sup>

5. Pommi ove'l Sole occide i fiori e l'erba.
(Petrarch)

Ponme donde la llama licenciosa.
(p. 16 v)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are to be found on pages 244, 237, and 238 of *I Fiori* delle rime de' poeti illustri (ed. Ruscelli), Venice, 1569; no. 4 occurs on p. 175 of Tansillo, *Poesie edite ed inedite* (ed. Fiorentino), Naples, 1882.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For no. 5 see p. 313 of *Il Canzoniere* (ed. Scherillo), Milan, 1925; for nos. 6 and 7 see *Fiori*, loc. cit., pp. 63-64, 151 v.

6. Deh lascia l'antro tenebroso.

(Cav. Salvago)

El puesto dexa umbroso.

(pp. 25 v-27 v)

7. La viva neve, e le vermiglie rose.

(G. B. Amalteo)

La biva nieve y las purpúreas rosas.

(p. 2v)

To this number four additional imitations should be added. The first is from Bernardo Tasso.

> 8. Pallida gelosia, ch'a poco a poco Passando al cor per non usate vie, Aduggi il fior delle speranze mie E'n amaro dolor giri il mio gioco: Perchè copri di ghiaccio il mio bel foco; E le paci di guerre ingiuste, e rie? E mi fai lagrimar la notte e'l die, Ond' io lasso!, son già languido, e roco? Tu con veleno tuo spargi di sorte Ogni dolce d'amore, e rendi amaro, Che non è più piacer, che mi conforte. O nodrita con l'odio a paro a paro Ne l'onde di Cocito, e con la morte, Per te sola a morir vivendo imparo.3

Heredia's version is quite free, but falls much below the original.

Celoso monstruo de mi fin sediento Que vas a poco a poco penetrando Mi coraçon, porqué yrle así acabando Es mas crudo linage de tormento; Refrena, cruel, el duro sentimiento, Que mi sospecha justa va aumentando En guerra injusta mi quietud trocando Y en pena amarga todo mi contento. Suspende un poco el inmortal cuydado, No viertas el veneno ponçoñoso, Afloxa de mi alma el lazo fuerte. Sino creeré y diré fuyste engendrado Del odio en el Cocito tenebroso, Y que tu solo enseñas lo que es muerte.

(pp. 8 v-9)

More successful is the imitation of a sonnet of Angelo Di Costanzo.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The poem occurs on p. 12 of Gli Amori, Venice, 1556.

9. Che Perseo un tempo, qual Mercurio alato, Gisse del ciel per l'alte ignote strade, Non si deve ammirar la nostra etade, Che'l simil provo al mio amoroso stato. Perchè del mio pensier sovente alzato A contemplar l'angelica beltade, M'appresso a quelle eterne alme contrade, Onde vien quanto a noi di sopra è dato. Indi, qual ei la Vergin d'Ethiopia, Destinata per cibo al monstro fiero, Scorgo in preda d'Amor l'anima propria, Ma non ho com'hebbe ei lo scudo altero, Nè d'altr'arme per torla, alcuna copia, Di man del dispietato iniquo arciero.4

#### Compare

Que qual Mercurio, un tiempo fuesse alado
Perceo por el cielo cristalino,
No es caso muy estraño, o peregrino,
Pues yo lo pruevo en mi amoroso estado.
Quando del pensamiento levantado,
A contemplar un rostro alto y divino,
Me allego junto (a) aquel puesto y confino,
De donde viene quanto bién sea dado;
De allí, qual él, la virgen de Etyopia,
Por manjar destinada al monstruo crudo,
Veo pressa de Amor mi alma propia,
Mas no tengo como él el fuerte escudo
Para librarla de la ardiente copia
De flechas del arquero cruel desnudo.

(p. 14 v)

## Francesco Coppetta furnished another model.

10. Amor m'ha posto come scoglio a l'onda,
Qual incude al martel, qual torre al vento,
E com'oro nel fuoco; e'l mio lamento,
Donna, a voi grida, e non è chi risponda:
La treccia vostra inanellata e bionda
Sol per mio danno ondeggia, e per voi sento
Il colpo, il fiato e'l fuoco, e non mi pento
Ogni pena per voi chiamar gioconda.
L'orgoglio onda, martello il duro affetto,
Lo sdegno è vento: e con tal forze Amore
Non mi muove, non rompe e non m'inchina;

<sup>4</sup> Fiori, loc. cit., page 13.

E l'accesa onestade e'l bel sospetto Con la dolce ira, e'l fuoco ove'l mio core Quanto più si consuma, più s'affina.<sup>6</sup>

The imitation reads smoothly and pleasingly.

Qual roca Amor me ha puesto al mar ayrado,
Qual ayunque al martillo, torre al viento,
Qual oro al fuego; y mi áspero tormento
Jamás, Arcelia cruel, os ha ablandado.
Vuestro hermoso cabello ensortijado,
Ondea sólo para mi tormento,
Y el golpe, el ayre, el fuego, en mi tormento,
Por vos le tengo, por un dulce estado.
Honda el orgullo y martillo el duro efeto,
Desdén el viento, y con tal fuerça y pena
No me mueve el Amor, rompe o inclina:
Que el fuego, desse honesto y bello aspecto,
Su dulce ira, y suave aura serena,
Quanto más me consume más me afina.

(p. 14)

#### Another imitation is drawn from Girolamo Parabosco.

11. Chi vuol prova di sè far contra Amore Miri ne gli occhi de la donna mia, Che poi sicuro in ogni parte fia, S'ivi non è pregion, s'ivi non more. Questi quegli occhi son, c'hanno valore Di far d'ogni alma cruda, humile e pia; Al foco, a strai d'Amor apron la via, Sia pur di ghiaccio, o di diamante un core. Luci da me più che la vita amate, Che morir d'ineffabile dolcezza Mi fate ogn'hor, che a me vi rivolgete; Così mai sempre a me benigne siate Com'io vi adoro, e come di bellezza I dui maggior del ciel lumi vincete.

# Heredia faithfully translates the thought.

Quien de sí contra Amor quiere hazer prueba Mire los ojos de mi Arcelia bellos, Que bien podrá ya seguro, si por ellos No se entrega a una dulce prisión nueva.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Rime Scelte, Vinegia, Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1588, II, 105.
 <sup>6</sup> Rime Scelte, Vinegia, Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1588, II, 166.

Que aquestos son los ojos donde a prueva Se fraguan las saetas contra aquellos, Y aunque de hielo armados, solo en vellos No hay dureza que (a) amarles no le mueva, Luzes mas que la vida de mí amadas, Que de inmensa dulçura y gran terneza Si os bolvéys a mirarme, luego muero; Así me seays benignas, y apiadadas Como hos adoro, y como en belleza Vencéys a Delia, y el mayor Luzero. (p. 4 v)

Heredia wrote at a time when the poetic stream was changing its course from Petrarchism to *Culteranismo*. The poems he chose to imitate, on account of their artificial character, mark him as a transitionist between the two movements.

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## THE FIGURATIVE NEGATIVE IN OLD SPANISH

In the May, 1927, number of MLN. (pp. 311-313) Professor A. R. Nykl discusses and lists what he calls "Old Spanish terms of small value" and states that he "would be grateful if further examples were called to his attention." The term under discussion is, I believe, generally considered the essential part of the figurative negative, and as such has been frequently treated.

Professor Nykl calls the terms "rustic similes," and states that none occurs in the *Poema de Mio Cid*. But herein he is mistaken, as the following examples show:

non lo preçio un figo, 77 non quiere facer un dinero de daño, 252 non prendré de vos quanto un dinero malo, 503 non daré a vos de ello un dinero malo, 1042.

In fact, Menéndez Pidal, in a paragraph entitled Refuerzo de la negación in his edition of the Cantar de Mio Cid, gives a very satisfactory bibliography of scholars who have treated this question, and who cite practically all the words included in Professor Nykl's lists in addition to as many more overlooked by him.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cantar de Mio Cid, Madrid, 1908, I, 376. Cf. also his glossary of the poem s. v. figo.

Diez 2 is doubtless the first scholar to discuss the figurative negative, and, though he has made no attempt to exhaust the study or to compile a complete list of examples, has cited several instances from the same works used by Professor Nykl, e. g.:

> non puedo desir gota, JRuiz, 1492c tres agallas no daban, Duelo Berceo, 19c non los preçio dos piñones, JRuiz, 638d non valiron quanto tres cannaveras, Alex, 663d quanto val un cabello, MilagBerceo, 325c

W. W. Comfort in 1908 contributed to MLN. an article on "The Figurative Negative in Romance Literature" à propos of G. Dreyling's exhaustive study of the material in Old French,3 and took issue, wisely enough it would seem, with Dreyling's explanation of their frequent use when he suggested that the figurative negative is a convenient cheville. It is true that in every instance but two listed by Professor Nykl the "term of small value" either ends the line directly or is followed by an adjective modifier that might naturally and regularly be associated with it. In fact, the adjective modifier increases the insignificance or lack of value. Professor Nykl, curiously enough, seems to have missed the point of the adjective foradado with tiesto. He translates tiesto: " an earthen flower-pot with a hole in the bottom." We are not dealing here with the modern article; foradado is added to give the article still less value. A pot with a hole in it is practically useless; so is a nut (nuez foradada).

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#### CONFUSION BEWEEN OLD FRENCH MORE AND MOR

In his edition of Guibert d'Andrenas, Paris, 1922, Melander writes More and includes it in his list of proper names:

> Ne vit nus hon .i. Sarrazin si fier, Gueule ot fendue plus de plain pié entier,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen, Zweite Ausgabe, Bonn, 1860, III, 402-418.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> MLN, XXIII, 61-63. Dreyling's study is entitled: Die Ausdrucksweise der übertriebenen Verkleinerung im altfranzösischen Karlsepos (Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie veröffentlicht von E. Stengel, Marburg, 1888, LXXXII).

Les denz agues come qarrel d'acier, Noir comme More, bien resenble aversier. De la tor ist armé sor son destrier; Avuec lui a de paiens .i. millier Qui tuit sont noir con More de Morier.<sup>1</sup> (1426-1432)

More is then defined as meaning "Maure" and Morier as "pays des Maures." This translation is incorrect in the case of both of the words mentioned, showing that the editor overlooked the distinction between mor and more. The feminine form more (Cl. Latin mōrum plu. mōra) means "mulberry" and morier means "mulberry tree":

Devant le palais ont Bondifer amené, Un destrier que rois Otes tenoit en grant chierté. Il fu noir comme *more*, s'ot le front estellé, Et la crope fu blanche comme flor en esté. (*Florence de Rome*, ed. by A. Wallensköld, Paris, 1907, 2499-2502.)

Une mulle chevache richement conrace, Plus noire que n'est more et de blanc estellee.

(Ibid., 3625-6.)

Au bout de celle lande mauldicte y avoit ung franc morier planté, assez remply de fueilles vertes et auprès du morier y avoit une fontaine.

(Oeuvres Poétiques de Guillaume Alexis, ed. by Arthur Piaget and Émile Picot, II, Paris, 1899, p. 309.)

In her dissertation entitled French Feminine Singular Nouns Derived from Latin Neuter Plurals,<sup>2</sup> Dorothy Turville says: "In early French, more is commonly found in comparisons, as being the most familiar concrete object possessing the quality of blackness in a superlative degree."

In the passage from Guibert d'Andrenas quoted above, Milander has confused feminine more with masculine mor (from Latin Maurus). The latter form means "Moor":

Un vilain, qui ressanbloit mor, Grant et hideus a desmesure, (Einsi tres leide creature,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jessie Crosland writes more and morier in her edition of this text, London, 1923.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> New York, 1925, p. 25. On this page and the following she gives two examples of more de morier (R Mont, 133, 21 and Gaydon, 9791).

Qu'an ne porroit dire de boche), Vi je seoir sor une coche.

> (Kristian von Troyes Yvain, ed. by W. Foerster, Halle, 1912, 288-92.)

Aufricans amena et Mors, Si amena ses grans trésors.

(Le Roman de Brut par Wace, ed. by Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1838, 11388-9.)

E la tierce est de Nubles e de Blos,

E la quarte est de Bruns e d'Esclavoz,

E la quinte est de Sorbres e de Sorz,

E la siste est d'Ermines e de Mors.

(La Chanson de Roland, ed. Léon Gautier, Tours, 1880, 3224-7.)

A similar confusion in the use of the words under consideration is also found in Littré's *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française* where the following passage is cited under *More*, *Maure*, "Moor":

Par iceli Diex qui ne ment, Se vous jamés parlés à li, Vous en aurés le vis pali, Voirs plus noir que *more*.

(Méon, Le Roman de la Rose, 1814, 8575-81.)

The word more in the quotation just given means "mulberry" and is so translated by La Curne de Sainte-Palaye in his Dictionnaire Historique de l'Ancien Langage François. In his discussion of morois and related forms, Gunnar Tilander says: "Il a dûy avoir confusion entre les mots dérivés de maurus et morum 'mûre.'" As already indicated the French representative of Maurus, "Moor," found in the early texts was mor. The later form with an e, More, is doubtless due to the influence of more, "mulberry," with which it was confused.

In Murray's English Dictionary More is mentioned as occurring in Anglo-French in the thirteenth century. In Froissart this form is used as the name of a bridge: "Le duc de Lancastre et le roy de Portingal ont été ensemble au Pont-de-More." On page 460 of the same volume the editor says: "Le Pont de More est Ponte-Mouro," and in volume xxv, p. 200 he describes as follows the location of the bridge: "On voit une localité appelée Ponte-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Lexique du Roman de Renart, Göteborg, 1924.

<sup>\*</sup> Ocuvres de Froissart, ed. by M. le baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, Bruxelles, 1870, xx, 430.

Mouro sur le Tambre, entre Campostelle et la Corogne." Maure, a variant of More under the influence of Latin Maurus, did not appear until very much later. The first example noted in the texts examined occurs in the Mémoirs of Commynes: 5 " Et apres vouloient continuer les-dictz roys en leur conqueste ou entreprinse sur les Maures et passer la mer qui est entre Grenade et Affrique."

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#### BROWNING AND GOETHE

No one, as far as I know, has ever called attention to the close parallel between Browning's famous first lines of Rabbi Ben Ezra,

Grow old along with me.

The best is yet to be,

The last of life for which the first was made.

and a passage from one of Goethe's Zahme Xenien,

Ein alter Mann ist stets ein König Lear! Was Hand in Hand mitwirkte, stritt, Ist längst vorbei gegangen, Was mit und an dir liebte, litt, Hat sich wo anders angehangen; Die Jugend ist um ihretwillen hier, Es wäre thörig zu verlangen: Komm, ältele du mit mir.<sup>1</sup>

Browning's Grow old along with me and Goethe's Komm, ältele du mit mir are so similar that the former could very easily be considered a direct translation of the latter. However, Browning's thesis in regard to old age is quite different from Goethe's opinion as expressed here. In fact it appears that Browning's whole poem is an answer to Goethe's Komm, ältele du mit mir. He would show that it would not be foolish to ask: Grow old along with me. But Browning, when he wrote his famous lines, was still too far from old age to know very much about it. Goethe at seventy was better qualified to judge.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes, pub. by Mlle Dupont, Paris, 1853, II, 573.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Weimar Edition, vol. III, p. 232. First published among other Zahme Xenien in 1820 in *Über Kunst und Alterthum*, 2, 3, pp. 81-96.

# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO VOLTAIRE'S BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following list of additions to Bengesco's Bibliographie de Voltaire will supplement the article I published in MLN., of Jan., 1924:

- La Mort de César, Tragédie. Par M. de Voltaire. Nouvelle édition. Au Magasin des pièces de Théâtre, chez Devers, Libraire, rue Saint-Rome. A Toulouse, An II. (1803). 34 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 99 B.)
- Alzire ou les Américains, Tragédie de M. de Voltaire. Représentée à
  Paris pour la première fois le 27 janvier 1736.—Errer est d'un
  mortel, pardonner est divin. (Duren, trad. de Pope.) Avec la
  parodie de Messieurs Romagnési et Riccoboni, A Amsterdam. Chez
  J. Ryckhoff, fils, libraire. 1736. V, 72 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 109 B. This is the fifth known edition of Alzire of the year
  1736.)
- Oreste. Tragédie de M. de Voltaire. Revue et corrigée par l'Auteur, et telle qu'elle est représentée par les Comédiens François ordinaires du Roy. Nouvelle édition. Paris. Par la Compagnie des Libraires. 1766. 67 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 205 B.)
- Olympie, Tragédie de M. de Voltaire. A Paris. Chez N. B. Duchesne.
   .... 1772. 48 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 261 B.)
- 5. Charlot, ou la Comtesse de Givri. Pièce Dramatique, représentée sur le Théâtre de Ferney au mois de Septembre 1767. Genève et Paris. Merlin. . . . 1767. 47 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 271 B. An edition of the same year as the one listed by Bengesco as the original, but without the Preface and with a different number of pages.)
- Romans et Contes philosophiques par M. de Voltaire. Londres 1776.
   vol. (To be added to Bengesco as 1520 B.)
- 7. L'Evangile du Jour. A Genève. 1769. 227 pp. (Cf. Bengesco, 1904. This is the third edition of Volume I, different from the two described by Bengesco. Contents: Profession de foi des Théistes. Les droits des hommes et les usurpations des autres. Epître aux Romains. Homélie du pasteur Bourn. Conseils raisonnables à Mr. Bergier. Remonstrance du corps des pasteurs du Gévaudan à J. Roustan. Fragment d'une lettre du Lord Bolingbroke. Discours aux confédérés catholiques de Kaminiek. Les Colimaçons du R. P. L'Escarbotier. Dissertation du Physicien de St. Flour. Réflexion de l'Editeur.)
- Défense de Milord Bolingbroke. 1752. (To be added to Bengesco as 1622 B. Contains 22 pages instead of 16, like the one indicated by Bengesco. This may be the first edition.)

- Diatribe du docteur Akakia, médecin du Pape. Décret de l'Inquisition et rapport des professeurs de Rome au sujet d'un prétendu Président. MDCCLIII. (To be added to Bengesco, 1624. This edition counts 30 pp. and is different from the three listed by Bengesco for the year 1753.)
- 10. Oeuvres de Voltaire, A. Basle, 1737. (This is the fourth collected edition known and is composed of: Zayre.—pp. 1-122; La Mort de César.—pp. 122-199. [Text of the Dutch ed. of 1736]; Epître sur la Calomnie—pp. 200-208; Alzire ou les Américains—pp. 208-312; Le Temple du Goût, par Monsieur de Voltaire suivant l'édition véritable d'Amsterdam de 1733. Donnée par l'Auteur.—pp. 312-364. To be added to Bengesco as 2119 B. The Epître sur la Calomnie here printed constitutes the second edition, to be added to Bengesco, 748.)
- 11. A copy of the bilingual edition of the Epître de M. de V . . . . en arrivant de sa terre. . . . (Bengesco, 791-794), of which Bengesco indicated the existence in his additions (I, p. 488), but which he was unable to describe.
  - Fol. 1—Recto: Épître de Mr. de Voltaire—An Epistle of Mr. de Voltaire. (Price One Shilling.)
  - Fol. 1—Verso: Épître de Mr. de Voltaire, En arrivant dans sa Terre près du Lac de Genève, en Mars, 1755 A Londres: Chez R. and J. Dodsley dans Pall-Mall. 1755.
  - Fol. 2—Recto: An Epistle of Mr. de Voltaire Upon his Arrival at his Estate near the Lake of Geneva, in March, 1755.

    From the French. London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall. 1755.

In 4°, 23 pp.

- 12. La Henriade, par Monsieur de Voltaire, Avec les Variantes & un Essai sur la Poësie Epique. Nouvelle Édition. A Amsterdam; chez François L'Honoré. 1765. 2 vol. of XXI, 211 pp. and 108 + 96 pp. in 8°. (To be added to Bengesco as 381 B, and for the Essai sur la Poësie Epique as 1551 B.)
- 13. Idem, 1766. (To be added to Bengesco as 381 C.)
- Les Pélopides, ou Atrée et Thieste, Tragédie. Par M. de Voltaire. Nouvelle Édition. A Paris, chez Didot l'aîné, MDCCLXXII. 43 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 289 B.)
- Dictionnaire Philosophique Portatif. [n. d.] MDCCLXV, VIII, 342 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 1402 B. This edition is different from the four editions listed for 1765. It is apparently the second edition.)
- Questions sur l'Encyclopédie, par Des Amateurs. Genève. MDCCLXXV.
   This edition is in four volumes of 609, 584, 600 and 599 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 1410 B.)
- 17. Worthy of note (although Bengesco does not describe English translations as a rule) is the following translation of the Temple du Goût:

The Temple of Taste By M. de Voltaire. Glasgow. Printed by Robert Urie. MDCCLI. XIV and 15-96 pp. in 12°.

Numbers 1-7 are owned by New York University (University Heights); numbers 8-9 by the University of Illinois; number 10 by the University of Chicago; numbers 11-17 by Columbia University.

GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK.

Columbia University.

#### **REVIEWS**

Chateaubriand and Homer, with a study of some of the French sources of his classical information. By C. H. HART. Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. Pp. 166. Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, No. XI. \$1.25.

The preface announces to the reader an analysis of Homeric style to be made in the body of the work, reminds him of the theory of manifold authorship, and promises a statement of the sources of Chateaubriand's classical information. The introduction gives the status of Greek studies in France before Chateaubriand's time. Racine's commentary on the Odyssey shows his love for the patriarchal Homer and his indiscriminate linking of Homer and Heliodorus. Fénelon's Télémaque, based on Homer in form and theme, makes of "what was occasional in Homer (its) very substance." As a didactic tale, however, it has descendants in Marmontel's and Florian's works, which add a new element,—romantic love, and in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, of poetical and dramatic interest. Besides this fiction, the work of le père Lafitau and that of Charlevoix form the final links in the development of the prose epic before Chateaubriand's time.

Since an imperfect understanding of Homer is the sole heritage from his most illustrious predecessors in France, it is possible that Chateaubriand gained a more thorough understanding from his sojourn in England. The Essai sur les Révolutions, written in that country, may mislead the casual reader with its numerous foot-note references to classical sources, but not Mr. Hart, who has traced these to two, or at the most three, French sources, chief among which, again, is Barthélemy's Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. Versions of Greek poetry, that appear in the Essai, seem to be

made from English translations. Thus there is still no first hand

knowledge.

In Les Natchez, Chateaubriand's first prose epic, the characters are far more like Virgil than Homer, witness the friendship of Outougamiz for René, an all-absorbing passion rather than a single emotion of a many-sided character. The situations are equally un-Homeric, even the military scenes which give the achievements of a single warrior. The final point of comparison is the poetic ornament, and the simile, in particular. Mr. Hart here takes the trouble to list all the similes of both the Iliad and of the Odyssey, so as to convince us that visual similes are common in the first and less common in the second, and always more frequent than the emotional simile. Following this adequate basis for comparison, he finds only one simile in Les Natchez that seems to be drawn from Homer, that of a battle-field compared to a threshing-floor (Book 10). Chateaubriand's comparisons are sometimes inappropriate, or too elaborate. He does, however, understand the function of the comparison and he follows Homer in making it visual. In spite of this, he has not yet acquired a thorough knowledge of Homeric poetic ornaments.

The criticism of the Génie du Christianisme bears out the practice of Les Natchez. It indicates that its author admires what he understands, "the pathos of Priam, the tenderness of Penelope and Ulysses." What is true of characters is also true of style; though here Mr. Hart shows that Chateaubriand knows nothing of the "energy and directness" of much of Homer's style. Limited as is this knowledge, for the first time it is acquired at first hand.

The characters of Les Martyrs are no more Homeric than those of Les Natchez. "A garrulous, unresourceful old man" is Démodocus, as opposed to the still vigorous Nestor, loquacious of earlier, stronger days; a passive girl, Cymodocée, as compared to the more natural Nausicaa, who is full of initiative; "an incompetent nurse," Eurymédeuse, as compared to the kindly and active Eurycleia. As for the comparisons which, again, are carefully tabulated, two thirds of them are in the manner of the Odyssey, though only very few actually recall the model. Finally, in the matter of foreshadowing the plot, Chateaubriand fails to justify himself in his supposed following of his famous predecessor. For the local color of Les Martyrs, sought on the journey related in the Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, Chateaubriand goes back again to his chief secondary source, Le Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. The importance of this book, among others, is indicated in the sub-title of Mr. Hart's study.

The conclusion reached is that Chateaubriand knew Homer only slightly, at first hand, but more widely and less accurately through the medium of imitators and critics. As for actual influence there is little. Chateaubriand is interested in the patriarchal Homer.

whom he can understand and appreciate, and disregards the martial Homer. In the matter of comparisons, where, alone, stimulation is derived from Homer, we note, again, Chateaubriand's natural ability. Only that part of Homer that is in keeping with Chateaubriand's temperament has any effect on him. This is not surprising in view of our knowledge of his reaction to English literature. His judgments lack proportion and are colored by his personal likes and capacities. As picturesqueness is characteristic of his style, it is the picturesque detail, the brilliant, colorful word that he takes from Milton. His innate love of nature and his ability to depict it lead him to stress wild and rugged nature in his borrowings from Ossian. And so it is with his "study of Homer (which) would seem merely to have encouraged what was already native in his disciple."

Logical, coherent, thorough as Mr. Hart's work is, it has in its present printing a defect or two. Careless proof reading is noted. There are thirty or more errors in the first thirty pages. These and others, not confined to the initial pages, consist of such things as longths for lengths, inconsistency in the use of capitals in titles and elsewhere, inconsistent spelling of a name such as Patroclus, etc. Another frequent inaccuracy, excusable on the ground that the thesis is published abroad, is a wrong division of syllables, reference, lite-rary, retur-ned, choo-sing, char-ming. The use of the word aristeia might be questioned since it does not occur in the N. E. D. A more serious fault is the omission of an index, which renders it difficult of use to future students of Chateau-

briand.

Its value lies in the fact that it fills a gap in the study of the sources of Chateaubriand. It is a more complete and more sympathetic statement than Köhler's Quellenuntersuchung zu Chateaubriands 'Les Martyrs.' The listed comparisons will be welcome to the student of comparisons in other Romantic writers. In conclusion, this thesis identifies another bit of the vast mosaic of Chateaubriand's work.

META H. MILLER.

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L'Homérisme de Chateaubriand. Par B. BRIOD. Paris, Champion, 1928. x + 167 pp.

It is a pleasure to see, in the opening chapter of this book, due honor done to the abbé Barthélemy, of whom M. Briod writes:

'La Voyage du jeune Anacharsis' fut pour beaucoup dans le retour à l'hellénisme savant: l'auteur avait pu, grâce aux progrès de l'archéologie,

animer ce qu'il y avait de trop sec, de trop intellectuel dans les travaux d'érudition pure sur la littérature hellénique; il avait su, d'autre part, vivifier cette archéologie au moyen des oeuvres littéraires. . . . Il serait intéressant d'examiner jusqu'à quel point le 'Voyage du jeune Anacharsis' n'a pas fait pour les lettres grecques ce que le 'Génie du Christianisme' a fait pour la religion chrétienne.

Unfortunately, if M. Briod has an acute sense of Barthélemy's position in the development of modern Hellenism, he fails to realize the very intimate connection between the 'Voyage du jeune Anacharsis' and the Hellenizing works of Chateaubriand. second chapter, devoted to "Chateaubriand et le grec" would be far more complete if he had shown, as a comparison of the 'Essai sur les Révolutions' and the 'Voyage' reveals, that the many notes, with their appearance of scholarship, in the former, were very often lifted bodily from the notes of the latter. In other words Chateaubriand's independent documentation was not very exten-The indebtedness of Chateaubriand to Barthélemy is even greater, for the Grecian setting of 'Les Martyrs'-Messene and the banks of the Ladon in Arcadia-also comes from 'le jeune And there are tell-tale pages in the 'Génie du Christianisme' as well as in 'les Martyrs' that show how Chateaubriand confused the fiction of Barthélemy with the verity of Greek history.

The third chapter, 'La Critique d'Homère dans l'oeuvre de Chateaubriand (Le Génie du Christianisme),' is excellent. Probably no more detailed study of Chateaubriand's 'critique' of Homer and Greek Literature has been made. The last two chapters, devoted to 'L'Epopée de l'homme de la nature and 'L'Epopée chrétienne' are marked by the same thoroughness. Every possible point of resemblance is indicated. Too much attention however is paid to purely verbal resemblances and disparities. The author fails to compare the characters of Chateaubriand with those of Homer, yet portrayal of character seems a far more important point than diction. How create an Homeric world without Homeric characters? It is possible even to bring to life again the Homeric world without Homeric phraseology. The comparison of Demodocus in 'Les Martyrs' with Homer's Nestor, for instance, or even with Priam is illuminating, as is that of Cymodocée with Nausicaa.

At several points in his study M. Briod dwells on the difference between imitation and inspiration. He would have us believe that the seventeenth century, as regards the Greek influence, was inspired, whereas the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries merely imitated. Is it not more correct to say that the Greek spirit was a source of inspiration in all three centuries whenever it worked through a genius? Are not Ronsard, the 'lyrique,' Racine, Fénelon, and Chénier all of one family, just as Chapelain and even Voltaire are of another? Chateaubriand is not wholly of either, though his chief affinities are with the latter. Through all French Hellen-

izing writers runs a strain of Alexandrianism. When this strain was exaggerated we have, where the epic is concerned, artistic

failure; when it was restrained, we have masterpieces.

One may ask whether M. Briod is not too severe in judging the poetic comparisons of 'Les Martyrs'? Un-Homeric they may be but they are nevertheless, as Chateaubriand says, "la partie la plus soignée de son ouvrage" and have merits of their own. Doubtless the poets of the nineteenth century owe him much for his elaboration of this accessory.

In conclusion it must be admitted that as a commentary on three of the major works of Chateaubriand M. Briod's study has great value. Perhaps no work has come nearer being a complete textual criticism of them than his volume. Much, likewise, is to be learned from it concerning the essential qualities of the Homeric style. The book will repay reading by students of the Hellenizing movement in French literature.

CHARLES R. HART.

Emory University.

- The Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to his Publisher, F. S. Ellis. Edited by Oswald Doughty. The Scholartis Press, London, 1928. xlviii + 150 pp.
- Orion, by R. H. HORNE. With an Introduction on Horne's Life and Work. The Scholartis Press, London, 1928. xxxviii + 131 pp.

These ninety-two Rossetti letters, nearly all very short, are (as Mr. Doughty is aware) not of the first importance as letters or as biographical data, but they are certainly worth printing. The first fifty-nine cover the year 1870 and are mostly concerned with the details of printing and publishing the Poems of that year—even to the writing of some of the advertisements—and Rossetti's wellknown zeal in "packing" the reviews. Nos. 68-75 have to do with the "contemptuous Contemporary" article on the Fleshly School and the whole affaire Buchanan. It is curious here that in spite of his premonitions of an attack and his elaborate devices to forestall it, Rossetti's first reaction was tolerant: "For once abuse comes in a form even a bard can manage to grin at without grimacing" (p. 103). But grimaces followed soon enough when he learned (from Ellis) that Buchanan was the author of the abuse. last few letters, uninteresting unless for the slighting references to his "Yankee" publisher, are of 1881 when he was preparing the Poems and Ballads and Sonnets for the press.

Mr. Doughty's editing is on the whole very workmanlike. He has devoted great care to the dating of the letters, a troublesome

matter; but is less particular about the place whence they were written. The notes are few and mostly technical, as is proper. Each of the persons mentioned in the letters is described briefly—some rather needlessly (as "William Morris, of course (1834-1896), poet and artist"); C. E. Norton (p. 32), however, is not Mrs. Caroline Norton, but Rossetti's friend and correspondent, Charles

Eliot Norton, as the address in Florence proves.

The most valuable work of the editor is the detailed accountfuller and more accurate than any hitherto—of Rossetti's life from 1868 to 1871. Here we have the story, told sympathetically, of the exhumation of the MS. (which Rossetti could tell Skelton, only two years after Mrs. Rossetti's death, was "lost . . . by an accident"), his reabsorption in poetical composition, the gradual resolution to publish, the careful revisions and attention to paper and binding, and the anxious preparations for an enthusiastic reception in the reviews. Mr. Doughty confines himself, however, to what is strictly pertinent for an introduction to the Ellis letters, and thus his history of these years is not altogether complete. What we gain from the volume is not so much new light on Rossetti's mind as a fuller appreciation of what we already knew in a general way. His skill at driving bargains in the sale of pictures is not manifest in his dealings with Ellis; on the contrary, he frequently offered to bear the expense of last moment changes. Moreover, what Mr. Doughty attributes to Rossetti's business ability, his zealous interest in the minutiae of printing is to be understood partly as arising from the practical artist's attention to practical details—the painter's necessary habit. Letter No. 30 may be recommended to those who are not familiar with Rossetti's hearty gaiety and bluff

It was a happy thought of The Scholartis Press to revive—as they say of dramas-Horne's "farthing epic" of 1843, which is no doubt too little read even by students to-day. The poem is of course hardly an epic, but a sort of heroico-philosophic idyl in 3000 lines. The story is scarcely firm and continuous enough to stand by itself, but with the rather simple allegorical meanings which it and the characters bear, and the rapid flow of the blank verse, Orion deserves an important place in English minor narrative poetry. There are many passages or real beauty and eloquence, although one constantly overhears Milton and Keats, and occasionally Landor. Mr. Eric Partridge's introduction is rightly appreciative, but moderate in its claims. His sketch of Horne's life and works, slight though it is, and in spite of an overemphasis on the dramatic pieces to the neglect of A New Spirit of the Age, is the best to be had at present. It relies heavily on Gosse's essay, but shows also a reasonable amount of research. The whole volume, however, with its ornate but excellent typography, its apparatus of "substantive variants" between the first, second, and ninth

editions (printed at the end) is intended rather for the lover of poetry than for the scholar. The former might wish a portrait of Horne; the latter would certainly want Horne's Brief Commentary prefixed to the ninth and definitive edition. Horne's extravagantly romantic life would make him a capital subject for mistreatment in the contemporary biographical manner, but his varied literary associations and interests certainly warrant a full and careful study. Perhaps Mr. Partridge's edition may recall the attention of scholars to his chefs-d'œuvre méconnus.

PAULL F. BAUM.

Duke University.

The House of Life. By Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Edited by PAUL FRANKLIN BAUM. Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. xiv + 242. \$3.00.

This edition of The House of Life presents the sonnets in a most attractive form, with a commentary on each sonnet which will be valuable to the scholar and, to the general reader, will prove a much needed open sesame. The notes rest upon a comprehensive study of Rossetti's poetry and of his actual and imaginative life as well. Rossetti's sonnets, though not explicitly autobiographical, derive their themes largely from his most intimate personal experience; and he expresses himself often in symbolic figures special to him so that both theme and detail are obscure to those who have not studied his life and thought closely. Hence Mr. Baum's method, in addition to his own sensitiveness, gives us a unified, detailed, and stimulating interpretation. It is tactful too; it does not take us into learned origins leaving us to read as philologists, but everywhere draws upon its learning to illuminate the finished poetry. The dates and the notes on the autobiographical background of each sonnet make clear that single emotional and psychological drama in which lies the greatest power and beauty of The House of Mr. Baum presents Rossetti's life with insight and judgment although he gives somewhat more definiteness than our knowledge warrants to the part played in the story by the second, unfulfilled love, which came to Rossetti between his engagement to Miss Sidall and his marriage to her. What Hall Caine gives us, after all, seems to me to be dim and partial intimations and suggestions, solidified and made coherent by his own mind after long years, and of uncertain original shape and weight. But, however one decides about the secret love, it hardly played so large a part as Mr. Baum gives it in his interpretation; he has brought the Innominata, as he calls her, into connection with more sonnets than can easily be so interpreted. Yet he has marked his way clearly so that with

this one small reservation, the notes do not lose their value to a

reader who does not fully accept his view.

In addition to the lucid commentary, the material in the introduction, notes, and appendix on dates and on the conditions under which Rossetti worked is useful and suggestive. The general introduction gives a sympathetic, reasoned criticism of Rossetti's art and of his view of life seen in relation to his age and in the light of current critical thought. In his final evaluation of Rossetti's 'mysticism' and 'aestheticism' he neglects the opportunity to measure these by larger human experience and by the great masters in this domain of thought, and thus his definition of Rossetti's achievement here is limited in scope. The introduction as a whole, however, is illuminating, warm, and sanely tempered.

RUTH WALLERSTEIN.

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Endymion, A Poetic Romance, By John Keats. Type-facsimile of the First Edition with Introduction and Notes by H. CLEMENT NOTCUTT. Oxford University Press, New York, 1928. Pp. lxi +242.

This is a beautiful volume, printed in clear black on exquisite white, attractively bound in natural linen boards—a book one will want on his shelves. But in other respects it is less satisfactory. Most readers would like, I imagine, a reproduction of Keats's poem with something less of positive interpretation. "Here are the Poems," once wrote Keats, "they will explain themselves as all poems should do without any comment." Without in the least minimizing the value of scholarly and sympathetic criticism as an aid in interpreting Keats, one is tempted to suggest that it would be nearer the spirit of the poet if copies of his original editions could be made for us more after the manner in which he himself first gave them to his public. Or, if in our enthusiasm for explanatory editions, we must have an introduction and notes, would it not be preferable to have, not the single view of one man, but a syllabus of the interpretative comment which has to date been offered by reputable critics-better yet, perhaps, only pertinent historical detail connected with the genesis and reception of the poem?

Professor Notcutt's interpretation of *Endymion* is in many respects both interesting and suggestive. In one of its main lines—Mr. Notcutt sees a double allegory in the poem—it does not differ materially from other interpretations (for though this explanation is the most elaborate and detailed of any so far made, it is not, as the author seems to feel, the only one which has been

proposed); but in its second main outline Mr. Notcutt's interpretation is more individualistic, differing radically, especially in certain details, from views previously advanced. Here the poem allegorizes the awakening of English poetry from the stultification of eighteenth century conventionalism to a new appreciation of the beauty of nature. Glaucus personifies English poetry, wan and decrepit, asleep under the influence of the enchantress Circe,—Alexander Pope—awaiting the magic touch of the new school to come to life: and "Endymion is the man" who gives the touch.

Here Mr. Notcutt is on decidedly debatable ground, a fact, however, which he himself appears frequently to forget, and, dogmatizing where others have felt that only tentative suggestion was safe,—on the evident assumption that his hypothesis has become accepted fact—confidently proceeds to analyze and interpret detailed passages in the poem in accordance with his theory. Mr. Notcutt thus falls into the unfortunate error of continually begging the question, as a glance at the Notes on Book III, will show: thus, "505. tooth, tusk, and venom-bag, etc. (of Circe), an apt description of the tone of literary and political controversy in the age of Pope." "509-10. Fierce, wan, and tyrannizing: Pope's attitude to the literary world of his time." "514. raven'd quick: referring to the large demand for Pope's writings." "516-20. Avenging, slow, etc. This refers to the publication of The Bathos, or The Art of Sinking in Poetry." And "614. Gaunt, wither'd, sapless, feeble, cramp'd and lame: the epithets are well chosen to express the effect of Pope's influence upon English poetry, as Keats regarded it."

This sort of thing would be all very well if it could be indeed established that Keats meant Circe to represent Pope and meant the awakening of Glaucus to symbolize the restoration of English poetry to its pristine vitality. But assumptions are after all only assumptions. And not every one is going to find it possible to accept Professor Notcutt's theories-ingeniously as he has frequently developed them. Nor will everybody readily agree that we must either find an explanation for every important particular and incident in Endymion, or admit that, though the poem may have meaning in parts, in long passages together Keats allowed himself to wander from the point and "scribble grotesque and meaningless nonsense" across his pages. A framework of allegory did not among Keats's predecessors and models, debar digressions and embellishments. And that he himself saw no inconsistency in such methods may be inferred from his answer to Hunt's objection to a long poem: "Do not the Lovers of Poetry like a little Region to wander in?" Most readers will probably be inclined to feel, unlike Mr. Notcutt, that Endymion is quite as fine a poem without being made to bear too great an overload of allegory. At

any rate, the interpretation here insisted upon is a very specialized one, which most critics are likely to feel is too untested and too little provable to accompany such an edition of Keats's poem as the one before us.

CLARENCE DEWITT THORPE.

University of Michigan.

Keats's Shakespeare, a Descriptive Study Based on New Material. By Caroline F. E. Spurgeon. New York, Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. viii + 178. \$10. (25 s.)

Miss Spurgeon, who has done distinguished work on early English literature, is apparently one of those who believe that scholarly methods are unnecessary if not out of place in dealing with the nineteenth century. For the material of her beautiful but needlessly expensive volume is incomplete, is presented in too lyric a style and without sufficient clarity and order, and is not indexedindeed there is not even a list of the twenty-one plates! It is in dealing with one of these,—a hitherto unpublished water-color, the history of which is "obscure,"—that Miss Spurgeon departs most widely from scholarly methods. The plate in question, the frontispiece, is entitled "Sketch of Keats by Joseph Severn done on board the Maria Crowther, September 1820." Yet no reason is given for thinking that it is a "sketch of Keats" or that it was "done on board the Maria Crowther" and apparently the only basis, except rumor, for attributing it to Severn is the opinion of his son, of whose competence is such matters we know nothing except that he must now be an old man. On the other hand there are at least two conclusive reasons for rejecting the sketch as a portrait of the poet: the very dark hair—Keats's was "golden red "-and the bulging forehead-Keats's was decidedly recessive.

It is to be regretted that Miss Spurgeon did not print or at least record all of Keats's markings not only in the Princeton but in the Hampstead copies of Shakespeare and also in Hazlitt's Characters of Shakespeare's Plays and Jackson's Shakespeare's Genius Justified, for complete material in such cases is more valuable than almost any comment. Miss Spurgeon's comments are often illuminating because of the careful study she has made of Keats's letters as well as his poetry and the facts of his life. She illustrates one use that may be made of her material by comparing marked passages in Shakespeare with lines in Endymion that use similar phraseology—although a number of her parallels are no more impressive than most of those Mr. E. V. Weller gathered from Mrs. Tighe's Psyche. She makes no study of the notable words, phrases, and passages that Keats did not mark

and apparently has not considered the probability that reasons quite apart from esthetics or even Shakespeare may have been responsible for some of the markings. The underscorings in the Tempest, for example, of the stage directions and the references to Ariel may have been the result of a conversation in which a new theory—possibly concerning the Elizabethan stage—was propounded. She does not discuss the date of the markings, most of which must be early since extensive underlining of an appreciative

kind is rarely made in a work with which one is familiar.

The seven small volumes of Shakespeare which Keats probably took to the Isle of Wight as well as to Italy and which Miss Spurgeon (an Englishwoman!) had the good fortune to discover in the library of Mr. George Armour in Princeton contain only three short MS. notes on the plays in Keats's hand. They do, however, include a number of passages ingeniously and amusingly chosen from Shakespeare to damn the criticisms of Johnson and of Steevens under which Keats wrote them. But the markings are the main thing. A careful study of them should certainly add to our understanding of Keats and give new zest to our reading of Shakespeare.

RAYMOND D. HAVENS.

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Alexander Dumas, fils, Dramatist. By H. STANLEY SCHWARZ. New York, New York University Press, 1927. xv + 216 pp.

Dr. S. has taken great pains to study Dumas's plays, to analyze them at length, to classify and criticize them, but he does not appear to have read widely enough in dramatic literature to speak with authority as to his author's origins, position, or influence. Racine, with his more logical technique and his greater insistence upon women and love, would have been a better object of comparison than Corneille. Diderot's ideas, Balzac's realism, and Scribe's technique are insufficient sources for Dumas's comedy of manners, for the generation that preceded his had already written a number of plays that belong to that genre.1 Little attention is paid to Augier, whose Gabrielle came out before the Dame aux camélias. Nor can one estimate D.'s influence without asking himself what was also contributed by such writers as Augier, Becque, Ibsen, and Hauptmann. Significant details are sometimes omitted from the analyses.2 The reader is left to refute for himself D.'s bitter and biased arraignment of French society.

Olivier de Jalin triumphs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Allard, la Comédie de mœurs en France au dix-neuvième siècle. Tome I. De Picard à Scribe, Cambridge, Harvard Press, 1923, and N. C. Arvin, Eugène Scribe, ibid., 1924.

\*M. Duval's plea for his daughter's marriage; the final trick by which

It is stated (p. 125) that he rarely produced major characters of flesh and blood, though his Marguerite has made for herself a permanent place among the grandes amoureuses of literature, his Alphonse has added a word to the French vocabulary, and his Suzanne d'Ange, Olivier, and Jean Giraud leave us with a very distinct impression of personality, however little we may like them.

The book has, however, certain good points. Dr. S. writes clearly and without prejudice. He discusses D.'s technique and his ideas about the theater and social questions in great detail. The list of plays, bibliography, and index are useful. The volume is well printed and attractively presented to the public. It will doubtless be of considerable help to those who are beginning the study of nineteenth century drama.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

The Early German Theatre in New York, 1840-1872. By FRITZ A. H. LEUCHS. New York, Columbia University Press, 1928. xxi, 298 pp.

Some twelve years ago the general subject of Dr. Leuchs's thesis, the history of the German theatre in New York City, was proposed by a candidate for the doctorate at Columbia University and rejected by the Department of Germanic Languages as unsuitable for a scholarly dissertation in the field of Germanics. It is a sign of healthy progress that the same subject should now meet with the approval of the Department at Columbia and yield one of the lengthiest and at the same time one of the more interesting dissertations turned out there. In Germany Theatergeschichte has long been recognized as a valid division of literary history. Today, when the mental sciences are being ever more closely linked, there is all the better reason for a study such as this, especially if its author be rooted in the cultural soil of his subject. On the same basis we should welcome also kulturgeschichtliche Studien of other activities of the German element in the United States, in particular a history of the German press in America. Studies of this type have a twofold significance. They are contributions to the history of civilization in the United States, and they throw light upon a not unimportant phase of German cultural activity abroad.

Dr. Leuchs has found it advisable to restrict himself to the early period of his subject, the comparatively unfruitful era from 1840 to 1872, thus supplementing the Cornell master's thesis of the present reviewer, which deals largely with the age of Heinrich Conried, from 1878 on. He has spared neither pains nor energy to make

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Zeydel, The German Theatre in New York City, with Special Con-

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his work as complete and authentic as possible. An introduction of nine pages presents the problem from its various angles. Chapter I gives the cultural background, the "sphere in which Little Germany moved" in New York during the second third of the century. We find that it enjoyed a vigorous life and that toward the middle of the century its numbers were swelled to hundreds of thousands who were bound with living cultural bonds to the Fatherland. The second chapter deals with early German performances from 1840 to 1849, casting a hasty side-glance at the presentation of German plays in the English language, and then treating the first recorded performances in German during January and February, 1840, the efforts of the Franklin Theatre from 1840 to 1842, and sporadic attempts to stage German plays between 1843 and 1849. These experiments proved a failure, for the "German dramatic muse in New York . . . steadily declined and all but perished as the years rolled

by."

In the following chapter the author takes up the quinquennium from 1850 to 1855, which shows a positive advance in the direction of a permanent German stage. After brief consideration of the "Liebhabertheater" and the minor German stage of the fifties, the much more important Altes Stadttheater (1854-1864) and Neues Stadttheater (1864-1872), with incidental contemporary enterprises, are studied at length. The former "was indeed one theatrical undertaking that did not end in dismal failure but expanded into a finer and grander enterprise." Of the latter it is stated enthusiastically: "to erect a large and new German theatre in the very midst of the Civil War, to attract to it a Dawison, a Haase and a Seebach, to raise and to lower the curtain almost three hundred and fifty times in a single season for two hundred different plays, and to keep this up year after year—in these achievements there is perhaps something akin to grandeur in so far as this term may be used of theatrical undertakings." A final chapter is devoted to the principal points of contact between the German and English stages in New York during the middle of the century. The conclusion is that the two stages exerted "a positive, if limited, influence upon each other." The American stage received several distinguished actors from the German institution, and there was a certain exchange of plays. Eight appendices with valuable statistical information, a bibliography and an index conclude the monograph.

The chief source proved to be the files of the New Yorker Staats-

sideration of the Years 1878-1914, in Jahrbuch, Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois, xv (1915), 255-309. In this 55-page article only four introductory pages are devoted to the early period with which Dr. Leuchs deals upon a much larger canvas. But it should be noted that the main outlines had been sketched in the article and that Dr. Leuchs too was unable definitely to establish a German performance in New York prior to January 6, 1840.

zeitung, as they had been for the Zeydel article. These were supplemented by numerous other contemporary journals, most of them

long since forgotten.

Dr. Leuchs has made his work more worth while by giving due consideration to the cultural background. Only occasionally one is inclined to question a statement. For example, the remark (p. 13) that the Staatszeitung "supported the cause of the Union in the Civil War in a most patriotic manner" is surprising in view of the fact that some important Civil War files of the paper are missing. A scholarly history of the journal would clear this matter up. One wonders also whether autobiographies of noted visiting actors might not have helped to furnish sidelights. Thus Friedrich Haase wrote Was ich erlebte, 1846-1896.2 It would have been interesting too, in connection with what is said about Haase's success in New York (p. 166) to note his failure before the supervising board of the Berlin Hoftheater in 1850, despite Ludwig Tieck's efforts on his behalf.3 Finally some attention should have been paid, if possible, to the acting versions used at different times in the various productions of such plays as Lessing's Nathan, Goethe's Faust and Shakespeare's dramas.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL.

University of Cincinnati.

Zehn Generationen deutscher Dichter und Denker. Die Geburtsjahrgänge 1561-1892 in 45 Altersgruppen zusammengefaßt
von Hans von Müller. Zugleich ein kleiner Führer durch
Goedekes Grundriß Band III-XII. Berlin: Frankfurter
Verlags-Anstalt, 1928, 138 pp.

Whoever has struggled with that most ungrateful, baffling, and irritating task of classifying and arranging authors either for cataloguing, shelving, or for historical synopsis will appreciate this astonishing booklet of 138 pages, which contains a wealth of information and of fruitful suggestions far beyond the promise of its title. Müller has grouped about 2000 German writers between the years indicated according to the dates of their birth and has thus—half against his will—hit upon a most successful because really organic classification. Units of seven, rarely of seven and one half or eight years form the smallest groups, of which four or five constitute a generation.

The principles elucidated through this arrangement are perhaps

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 2nd ed., Berlin, Leipzig, Wien, 1897.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> L. H. Fischer, Aus Berlins Vergangenheit, Berlin, 1891, pp. 141-162.

best expressed by Wilhelm Pinder, who obtained very similar results in the field of European Fine Arts (see Das Problem der Generation in der Kunstgeschichte Europas. Berlin: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt.) and formulated the following thesis:

"Generations normally show a preponderant unity of problems. Generation' means a valuation according to character of art

style.

"Generic unity is more important than experience ('influences,'

'relations').

"The art epoch is a resultant of primarily determining entelechies (sprung from the mysterious womb of nature) and of (doubtlessly just as important) frictions, influences, relations which are experienced in the actual unfolding of those entelechies.

"With the 'generation' fundamental moods, fundamental emotions are born, which manifest themselves in the unity of problems. Unity of problems, as a formula for that which the generation holds in common, does not exclude but includes polar opposites and tension of great strength, even postulates their existence. It only

means unity of task, not unity of solutions."

Müller himself is far from proclaiming his classification as a dogma but rather considers it as a working hypothesis or a 'fiction' in the sense of Vaihingers Als Ob. He expects adversaries from two camps: those who will refuse his findings as mysticism or metaphysics and those who will scorn it as tainted with natural science, but he meets them with Pinder's maxim that it is no less the duty of scholarship 'to state the inexplicable though it be only a fact than to state facts when they seem explicable.'

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Lyric Pioneers of Modern Germany: Studies in German Social Poetry. By Solomon Liptzin, Ph. D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928. Pp. 187. \$2.75.

The present volume was promised by the author in his valuable monograph on The Weavers in German Literature ("Hesperia," XVI [1926], 105). Though seemingly confining himself to a rather limited field, he again succeeds in drawing a picture of magnitude and impressiveness. Either book may be said to supplement the other: the "Weaver" book as a study of one, and that the most portentous, aspect of the Industrial Revolution in Germany and its reflection in literature; Lyric Pioneers as a study of the Zeitgeist of the Forties in some of its most spontaneous and significant manifestations. Inevitably large portions of the earlier book

had to be taken over into the new. Almost one third of the latter is thus reprinted, revamped, or summarized, including the study of "Chamisso as a Social Poet" which first appeared in the Philological Quarterly (v [1926], 235 ff). On the other hand, many topics merely touched upon before are here broadly developed. The value of the new book as furnishing background is enhanced by the fact that the very subject-matter forces the author to discard aesthetic standards almost entirely. As Treitschke pertinently remarked (Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jht., IV, 600), social changes may at all times most accurately be guessed from the works of those minor writers who reflect only the opinions of the public at large. This, then, is one of the features of the book: It brings back from the oblivion of obscure anthologies and periodicals and even unprinted sources (Herm. Semmig) a host of poets, not because of the intrinsic merit of their artistic reaction to a changing world, but because they were among the first through whom a new social consciousness and conscience found expression. The methodological perspective is therefore on the whole Marxistic, though at least in the chapter on "Weltschmerz and the Social Lyric" the author proves himself capable of idealistic interpretation. Nor can it be denied that the major names appearing in the volume, Chamisso, Herwegh, Freiligrath, Heine, even Gustav Freytag, acquire a somewhat different connotation related as they here are exclusively to the social revolutionary cross-currents of the age. The bourgeois ideology of the new Empire, which regarded the movement of the Forties solely from a political point of view, as the forerunner of 1871, is probably responsible for the still prevailing neglect of this aspect of German lyric poetry. Our attitude should be different for, as the author points out (p. 13), the social problem, which the Forties faced in its most primitive and crudest form, is the controlling one of modern life. Thus these early lyrics of social pity, of vice and crime, of social Utopias, revolt, and cynicism are given their place, not so much in the history of literature (they embody no new theory of art!), but in that unfolding modern world-consciousness of which the storm and stress of the last generation and of the Expressionists are merely more recent and potent revelations.

The book may not please in Germany. To a cursory reader, merely biographical data, summaries of contents, etc., will seem to crowd out interpretation. Well-known facts are spread out in great detail. Lopsided statements occur. The bibliography, except for source materials, is left fragmentary. All this well understood, the book is admirable. Though based on first-hand research, it is addressed to an American lay public interested in social questions, but still ignorant of German literature. One of its greatest distinctions is perhaps the art with which the author can capture and hold the attention of this type of reader. His discussion follows

the development of a modern drama with climax, catastrophe, and finale. The style is eloquent, impregnated with the author's own reaction to the phenomena of which he treats, yet sober and lucid withal.

H. W. NORDMEYER.

Washington University.

## **BRIEF MENTION**

Molière und das komische Drama, von C. S. GUTKIND. Halle, Niemeyer, 1928. vi, 183 pp. Dissatisfied with Heiss' study of the evolution of Molière's genius in accordance with genres, on the ground that divisions into high comedy, farce, etc., are too subjective, Gutkind proposes to classify the plays in accordance with the variations in the comic spirit displayed in them and thus to establish four epochs in the dramatist's career, those "der unproblematischen Posse" (plays written before the return to Paris), "der ersten unpersönlichen, sittenproblematischen Bemühungen" (Précieuses to Ecole des femmes), "der persönlichen Schicksalsproblematik" (to and including le Misanthrope), "der überpersönlichen Schicksalsproblematik" (after the latter play). One may object, however, that his classification is as subjective as that of Heiss; that he makes too much of the supposed failure of the Misanthrope, which, while not one of M.'s greatest successes, is shown by La Grange to have met with considerable favor; and that the weakness of his system is apparent from his contention (p. 168) that Don Garcie was played before M. came back to Paris, although the only evidence for such a conclusion is the fact that otherwise it would not fit into this new classification. The book contains, however, an interesting study of several of the plays, notably of l'Avare and Don Juan, and has a certain importance in broadening the description made by M. Bergson of M.'s comic resources.

H. C. L.

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Bibliographie de l'Œuvre de Sainte-Beuve, by Jean Bonnerot, now appearing in the Bulletin du Bibliophile (1 Nov., 1928—) and in fascicules (Paris, Giraud-Badin). The author, a librarian at the Sorbonne, gives not merely a chronological list of articles, editions, etc., but in each case a history of variations, a record of conditions of publication, the references to passages in the Correspondance and elsewhere in which Sainte-Beuve discusses his own

work, relevant remarks by contemporaries, etc. There is no modern critic more given to multiplication of distinctions and none for whom it is so important to have a complete record of all the causes contributing to all the subtle shiftings of emphasis. The first numbers of this Bibliography (the entire publication of which will probably require several years) show that it will be invaluable to students of Ste-B. and, on account of the manifold ramifications, to every one occupied with the history of nineteenth-century French literature.

HORATIO SMITH.

Der kleine Deutsche. Ein Fortbildungsmittel zur Erlernung der deutschen Umgangssprache auf allen Gebieten des täglichen Lebens u. s. w. By Professor Dr. R. Kron. Ettlingen: Bielefelds Verlag, 1929. 184 pp. M. 3. This well-known counterpart to Le petit Parisien, The Little Londoner, etc. has been revised and brought up to date (16th edition). It is linguistically as well as in regard to its realia a reliable guide to German life. One might desire a little more information on the latest reforms in secondary education; the terms Grundschule, Aufbauschule, Einheitsschule, Oberschule, Deutsches Gymnasium, so commonly used now-a-days, should be mentioned and explained.

E. F.

A Balzac Bibliography, compiled by WILLIAM HOBART ROYCE. Chicago: University Press, 1929. xvii + 464 pp. \$5.00. Over 4,000 titles of writings devoted to the life and works of B., or in which mention of him is made, have been arranged alphabetically in two groups (books, articles), according to the names of the authors. The method is explained by E. P. Dargan in an interesting introduction. Many works are included (text-books, popular articles, etc.) that contribute to our knowledge of Balzac only by showing the extent of his influence. A topical index, essential to the utilization of the present volume, will soon follow. One must give the highest praise to the industry with which Mr. Royce has collected this vast amount of material and to the skill and accuracy displayed in the editing and printing. The book will be the basis of work on Balzac for many years to come and should find a place in all libraries where serious work is done in French literature.

H. C. L.

Por M. Romera-Navabro. Miquel de Unamuno. Sociedad General Española de Librería. 328 págs. Seguramente el señor R. N. hubiera hecho una tesis brillante sobre Alarcón o sobre Clarín, pero por eso mismo hay que agradecerle que, desdeñando el éxito fácil, se haya lanzado intrépidamente a intentar un estudio completo de la recia personalidad de Unamuno, el español más importante después de Goya, según ha dicho recientemente un ensavista famoso. En la introducción hace el señor R. N. una semblanza del ex-rector de Salamanca, bastante amena aunque inferior a otras publicadas anteriormente. Luego estudia al novelista, al poeta, al ensayista, abrumando un tanto al lector con argumentos y citas importunas. En algunos capítulos molesta un poco el tono de profesor. En otros se notan omisiones graves. El libro de poesías titulado Teresa—un ejemplo basta—no aparece mencionado ni en la bibliografía, donde por cierto hay también varias lagunas. Faltan entre otros los nombres de Cassou, Puccini y Sánchez Rojas. En general, aunque no puedo compartir todas sus opiniones ni aprobar su método, la obra del señor R. N. me parece cuando menos útil. A ella habrá que recurrir mientras no se escriba el libro definitivo sobre Unamuno. Y sólo otro Unamuno sería capaz de escribirlo.

J. R.

Les Origines du Mélodrame. Par E. C. VAN BELLEN. Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1927. Pp. 220. This Amsterdam dissertation is based upon an article of M. Pitou in RHL., 1911, but is a far more extensive and detailed study of the genre, carried well into the nineteenth century. A useful index of over 300 plays is added. The author finds that there are advantages in isolating, as M. Pitou did, "le Mélodrame du Drame et de la Tragédie" (p. 7), but it is doubtful whether it is possible to do so successfully, especially in view of the many resemblances that Van B. points out between this and other literary forms. However, the study has been carefully made and will be of use to those who are interested both in popular drama and in the theater of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The author can hardly be reproached for not knowing Dr. Mason's dissertation on the same subject, accepted by the Johns Hopkins University in 1911, but of which only a small portion has been published.

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